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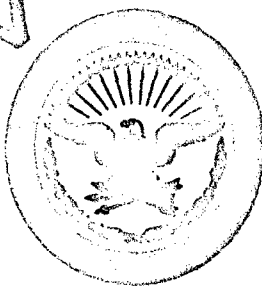
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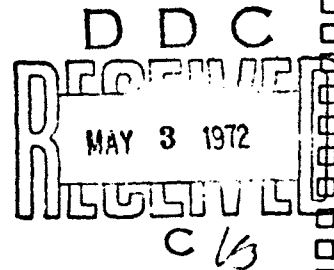
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AMERICANS AND VIETNAMESE:  
A COMPARISON OF VALUES  
IN TWO CULTURES

John S. Parsons  
Dale K. Brown  
Nancy R. Kingsbury



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November 1968

AMERICANS AND VIETNAMESE:  
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John S. Parsons  
Dale K. Brown  
Nancy R. Kingsbury

Sponsored by:

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Mrs. Audrey Reniere, project secretary, typed the report and prepared all of the tables.

J. S. P.  
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McLean, Virginia  
15 November 1968

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO AND OVERVIEW OF THE VALUES PROJECTS

This is one of four research studies in support of U. S. efforts in Vietnam. They provide information about the Vietnamese people, their culture and values, and suggest uses in communications and military assistance programs. Information on American values is presented also. The detached observer can view his subjects as a biologist observes an insect under the microscope, only making sure that his reports are "objective" and systematic. But once the observer of a foreign political scene becomes also an actor, attempting to influence things, he needs insight into his own predispositions and values. Our values set our goals. In decision-making they constrain and reduce the alternatives we seriously consider, usually without awareness. Thus, ingrained American values and institutionalized practices directed our efforts in Vietnam, and they did not always serve us well.

But some wisdom may be gleaned retrospectively. In 1955, the U. S. committed itself to support a newly formed Asian country in a task that required--concurrently--social, political and economic development, and defense against an insurgent strategy patterned after Communist precepts and tested and refined in China (1940-47) and Indochina (1947-54). We became involved with a people with great ethnic pride but little experience in self-government; a people with a Chinese-Southeast Asian set of values and beliefs--values and beliefs alien to Occidentals. A more difficult task could hardly be imagined.

Retrospectively, we didn't appreciate what we were getting into. And our immediate precedents were more misleading than helpful. The Marshall Plan had successfully resuscitated Western Europe after World War II. In a more qualified success, with Korean help, we had stopped the North Koreans at the 38th parallel. But the Western Europeans had the knowhow to apply U. S. funds and capital equipment and thrive; and the Korean War was basically a conventional conflict, not a counterinsurgency operation.

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Other experience was available that could have served us better--the anti-Huk experience in the Philippines, the successful British counterinsurgency operations in Malaya, and the immediate experiences of the French in Indochina. But these were not much called on. There was no institutional memory in the military for the strategy, tactics, and detailed techniques needed to address the struggle we would face. Worse, no superior monitor told us we needed to know! Our closest doctrinal approximation was the Marine Corps Small Wars Manual, prepared in 1940 but never published.

Given this scenario, our approach followed our own American values and, in the military, a set of precepts and organizational practices institutionalized in conventional conflict. We strove to pattern the Vietnamese military after our own, and--largely ignoring the Communist stimulated and supported insurgency in rear areas--set the defense of the 17th parallel as the mission. On the civilian side, we supplied a wealth of materiel and some training in public administration--American style. We hoped that from all this assistance there would emerge a politically and economically viable national polity.

Combining military and civilian efforts we built bridges, roads and schools, and formed strategic hamlets and ringed them with barbed wire. But in the far more difficult job of helping to develop communities--communities that would give meaning to these physical artifacts, communities with the will and unity to defend themselves--we often failed. As Kissinger has pointed out, "...our military strength had no political corollary."<sup>1</sup>

The inherent complexity of the situation, and our own brand of institutional wisdom, acquired from experience in traditional wars, in combination, were formidable obstacles. But man is intelligent; he can learn. Thrown into a strange situation he begins to recognize the insufficiency of existing guides, and to feel for better answers. A general officer, hearing that the Viet-Cong were superstitious, had his G-2 make a staff study. The intelligence officer recommended

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<sup>1</sup>Henry A. Kissinger, "The Viet Nam Negotiations," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 47, No. 2 (January 1969), p. 230.

that we fly out in our choppers and drop owls and aces-of-spades on the hapless Viet-Cong, and that the Advanced Research Projects Agency should check this further. These suggestions struck a responsive chord at the ARPA compound on Ben Bach Dong. Seeing everywhere the impact of the massive American presence, ARPA civilians and military began talking about syncretism and the need for a more compatible mix of American and Vietnamese ways. While his specific suggestions may be naive, the general was on the right track. ]

It began to be seen that communications are far more important in counter-insurgency situations than in traditional warfare, and that they must address a greater variety of audiences--friendly and fence-sitters, as well as enemies. We began to appreciate that to communicate credibly, one must know not only the language of his audience, but his own values and beliefs as well. Problems of cooperative effort came to be better appreciated: Vietnamese and Americans could readily agree on generalized, abstract goals. But when, working together, Americans tried to translate these goals into ways and means, cross-cultural differences became major obstacles. We could not just superimpose an American modus operandi on a South Asian people (Vietnamese disagree politely--they smile and nod their heads). Obviously then, there was a need to know more about the Vietnamese culture and people. Such knowledge could improve psychological operations, help advisor-advisee relationships, and help with the many tasks that fall under the rubric of nation- or institution-building.

Such thoughts were the genesis for requirements which were translated into the research described here. HSR efforts to date have resulted in four reports, produced under ARPA contract.

The first report<sup>2</sup> describes the collection and integration of information on the values and demography of rural Vietnamese in the Mekong Delta and an

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<sup>2</sup>M. Sternin, R. J. Teare, P. G. Nordlie. A Study of Values, Communication Patterns and Demography of Rural South Vietnamese (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., February 1968).

extensive treatment of the methodology used. Anticipating uses in psychological operations, we also collected information on formal and informal communications practices.

A second report<sup>3</sup> is designed to show how the information developed may be used in psychological operations. The hypotheses as to how it may be used are untested.

Recognition that values between cultures are relative rather than absolute, and that Americans need a better understanding of their own values, gave rise to the work reported in a third report.<sup>4</sup> Data collected on American value orientations were compared with data on Vietnamese collected earlier. Inferences from these data and other source materials gave rise to a treatise on problems to be expected when people of these two different cultures attempt to work together to accomplish common goals. Approaches that might help resolve some of these problems are suggested. Finally, technical problems of measurement of values are treated in an appendix.

The latest report in this study area<sup>5</sup> is an account of HSR's attempt to test certain of the findings on value orientation in a field situation in Vietnam, at the same time providing assistance to psyop programs in RVN. Guiding concepts were set forth and preliminary testing was just beginning when project funds were expended; the report is thus incomplete and is being distributed only to a limited audience.

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<sup>3</sup>M. D. Havron, M. Sternin, R. J. Teare. The Use of Cultural Data in Psychological Operations Programs in Vietnam (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., February 1968).

<sup>4</sup>John S. Parsons, Dale K. Brown, Nancy R. Kingsbury. Americans and Vietnamese: A Comparison of Values in Two Cultures (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., November 1968).

<sup>5</sup>E. Frederick Bairdain, Edith M. Bairdain, Neil L. Jamieson, III. Psychological Operations Program Assessment: Vietnam Field Study June-October 1968 (U) (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., December 1968). CONFIDENTIAL.

In spite of a lack of closure, certain generalizations stand out.

- An intelligent approach to Vietnam-type situations requires knowledge of the people and culture. Such knowledge can be obtained in spite of many operational and technical problems, by methods and techniques known to the social sciences.
- Translating this knowledge into guiding concepts and into operations is as difficult as obtaining it. Nonetheless, it appears that this can be done for a variety of critical programs and tasks.
- To work effectively with people whose values and beliefs are different from ours, it is necessary to be conscious of one's own values and beliefs.
- To have real impact, work of the kind described here needs continuous support over a considerable time span. The state-of-the-art supporting this work provides useful concepts and methods, but considerable trial and error is required. Research of this sort must compete for support with hardware development programs which stem from American values which incline us to give priority to research in hardware technology. Often work such as that described does not fare well in this competition for priorities.

-- M. Dean Havron, President  
Human Sciences Research, Inc.

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## INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

### Introduction

This report presents the findings of a comparative study of Vietnamese and American values with special emphasis on the critical role of values in American-Vietnamese collaborative efforts in South Vietnam.

In recent years there has been a growing awareness of the critical role that communications play not only in the effort to defeat the enemy in the South Vietnamese cities and countryside but also in our effort to foster the development of stable and viable political and economic institutions in the Southern Indochinese Peninsula.

The current research is a continuation and further elaboration of an earlier study<sup>6</sup> designed to collect cultural data on rural Vietnamese and to suggest ways in which such information could be used in US/GVN psychological operations. In this earlier study, data were collected only on Vietnamese populations and no comparable data were available from Americans. Hence, values could be discussed only in absolute terms. With the present study, comparable data now become available on American populations, and the two sets of data--Vietnamese and American--can be compared and discussed in relative and more meaningful terms.

The contrasting of American and Vietnamese values provides the conceptual basis for more effective intercultural communication in two major aspects of the joint US/GVN effort--(1) psychological operations, directed mainly toward winning the VC and VC supporters over to the government side, or strengthening support for the government, its policies and programs, and (2) collaborative efforts toward mutual goals on the part of American advisors and their Vietnamese

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<sup>6</sup>Havron, et al., op. cit.; Sternin, et al., op. cit.

counterparts. Where the earlier study of Vietnamese values was oriented toward applications in psychological operations, the present study is oriented toward applications in collaborative efforts.

The report consists of two parts, the first substantive and the second technical. Part I includes a discussion of the meaning of values and the distinctions between values and attitudes, a comparison of the value orientations of selected populations of Vietnamese and Americans, an examination of the implications of value differences for the collaborative effort, and finally some suggestions for resolution of problems or impasses in which value differences play an important role. Part II includes the methodology for collecting the values data, a discussion of the various tests for reliability and validity of the data, and an examination of more refined techniques or other approaches to the collection and analysis of values data.

### Background and Rationale

It is now (1968) 14 years since the first American advisors were dispatched to help the newly formed South Vietnamese republic create a viable nation and 4 years since U. S. military forces were dispatched as fighting units.

Americans and Vietnamese, involved in a common enterprise and working toward mutual goals, may agree on broad objectives, but as these are articulated into instrumental goals and procedures to attain them, initial assent can change to strong differences in opinion to the point where there may appear to be no solution space acceptable to both Americans and Vietnamese. Granting that reasons for misunderstandings between Americans and Vietnamese are open to multiple interpretations, a strong case can be made that many of the fundamental difficulties lie in the greatly differing cultural backgrounds of the Americans and Vietnamese and that it is the clash of different patterns of value orientations which is often a barrier to effective communication and collaboration.

This class requires the American as innovator to take a broader look at Vietnamese culture, to be more than a technician. Our rationale, supported by considerable literature, is that productive and lasting change cannot be brought about simply by providing skills or by creating a new institutionalized skeleton. The people who compose the structure must embody the set of values, attitudes and beliefs that support it and make it effective.

Although change of this scope is extremely difficult to achieve, a step in the right direction is to acquire an understanding of how American values differ from those of the Vietnamese, for if the American advisor's ideas are to be accepted, then his actions must be predicated on a knowledge of how such ideas may or may not clash with those of the Vietnamese. Such an understanding can foster mutual respect and may, perhaps, suggest new avenues of approach to problem solving. The advisor who knows both his own culture and that in which he is working is in a better position to achieve his goals than is the one without this knowledge and understanding.

A first step towards an understanding of these issues is to examine the meaning and role of values, to contrast American and Vietnamese value orientations, to understand how various values are associated with different patterns of behavior, particularly in an institutional context, and to identify areas in which the behavior of each may conflict with the other in cooperative effort.

The need for such research has been accurately described by Arensberg and Niehoff in their book, Introducing Social Change: A Manual for Americans Overseas.<sup>7</sup> The authors have commented that American specialization has been singularly successful in dealing with problems set against the known background of their own culture. However, in dealing with other cultures, conditions no longer arise from a familiar background and cannot be taken for granted. They continue, "The American specialist should be given some opportunity of knowing himself as a product of American and Western culture. He should be required to

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<sup>7</sup> Conrad Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff, Introducing Social Change: A Manual for Americans Overseas (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964).

have some understanding not only of the behavior and values of the recipient peoples of foreign cultures, but also of his own assumptions and values.... In short, he needs to know how being an American may help or hinder him in his mission."<sup>8</sup>

Once the decision to intercede is made, it is incumbent upon Americans to initiate actions designed to foster intercultural understanding. Many advisors have had a rich background of other intercultural experiences and thus may be more keenly aware of the cultural differences of various peoples. For the average Vietnamese peasant whose horizons are usually limited to the boundaries of his hamlet or village, contact with other cultural groups may be a unique experience.

The American, too, is in a better position to learn about the Vietnamese than they are of him. Our training centers have oriented our advisors to Vietnamese country and culture, but there are few experts on American culture to so orient the Vietnamese to their American advisors. Furthermore, it is the American advisor who is an intruder in Vietnamese society, who brings with him strange ideas from the outside.

#### Summary of the Project

This report presents the findings of innovative cross-cultural research on Vietnamese and American unconscious belief systems, or "values." "Values," as defined here, are perhaps the most pervasive, subtle, and powerful determinants of attitudes, opinions and behavior. They are the "taken for granted," unconscious assumptions about meanings and motivations so deeply ingrained that they are seldom questioned. Because there is no conscious awareness of the assumptions, their effect is not recognized and the assumptions which cause the misunderstanding or misinterpretations never come under review or conscious analysis.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 155.

The special significance of values in communications rests in the fact that they form the basis upon which people in different cultures perceive the world in which they exist and by which they interpret specific events in that environment. Cultural differences embodied in different values create problems in communications of far greater magnitude than those stemming from simple language differences. The same set of words used to convey a particular thought may mean quite different things to people from different cultures because they are heard or read and interpreted against a background of different values.

### The Problem

In essence the research problem was to develop a method which would permit us to construct meaningful and comparable values profiles for the two populations. The basic requirement--an instrument explicitly designed to be cross-culturally relevant--was designed during the earlier study. The literature dealing with theory applicable to cross-cultural values research under controlled conditions was surveyed and a theoretical approach developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck for measurement of values was adopted as a basis for all three studies.<sup>9</sup> This approach assumes the commonality of certain basic conditions of existence to which people in all cultures must relate and accommodate--e.g., time, nature, man. The instrument developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck to measure value orientation in these general areas was expanded along the dimension of specific content--economic, social and political--so that we could systematically measure differences in values orientations among these three content areas.

In using the same instrument across the two cultures, there arose the major problem of translation involving not only linguistic conversion between Vietnamese and English but also the difficulty of maintaining semantic equivalence of the two versions, which necessarily employed local idiom and reference points.

The starting point for the present study consisted of creating a new English-language form of the instrument previously administered to Vietnamese

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<sup>9</sup>Florence R. Kluckhohn and F. L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row Peterson, 1961).

populations, since a number of changes had occurred in the original English language form during the process of translation to Vietnamese and field pre-testing. This new English-language form was then administered to four different groups of Americans who expected to serve in Vietnam as civilian or military advisors. The data collected from these American samples were then analyzed in the same manner as the previously collected data from the Vietnamese and the resulting values profiles were compared point by point.

#### Findings, Results, and Conclusions

The theoretical rationale selected for the study shows definite promise for providing a framework for discovering and interpreting cultural differences. A measurement instrument, constructed on the basis of this general theory, has identified significant differences and similarities in Vietnamese and American values.

Major findings, presented in simplified form, are as follows:

1. The responses of a majority of the Vietnamese respondents indicated a pragmatic view of human nature. Americans were more inclined to be moralistic.
2. The Vietnamese were largely oriented to accept things as they are. Americans were almost exclusively concerned with control of their environment.
3. Vietnamese seemed to live in the present, adapting to situations on a day-to-day basis and showing very little interest in thinking about or planning for the future. Americans were more future oriented, interested in planning and more willing to sacrifice present concerns for future goals.
4. Vietnamese saw economic activity almost exclusively in terms of economic gain. Americans viewed economic activity more as a means of self-development.
5. Vietnamese were strongly oriented toward decision by authority and toward the approval or disapproval of elders and superiors. Americans believed strongly in self-determination and in individual conscience as a basic guide to behavior.

On reflection it is apparent that most of the separate values findings for both Vietnamese and Americans were anticipated in the literature in one form or another, but this is the first time that two parallel sets of profiles have been systematically drawn, brought into direct alignment, contrasted and discussed in terms of their implication for the communication problem facing Americans in Vietnam.

The consideration and application of these comparative findings appears to be necessary for psychological operations, civic action programs, and training programs for advisors going to Vietnam. They indicate points at which Americans' expectations of the Vietnamese may run counter to Vietnamese assumptions and behavior, but at the same time they suggest alternative approaches to the Vietnamese which may be more effective than the "American way"--e.g., appeals to the authority structure in situations where the American would prefer to appeal to individual initiative and responsibility. A full discussion of the implications of these findings, and suggestions for application, are included in the body of the report following the description of findings.

In conclusion, even though the results have been produced by a relatively primitive measuring instrument, they are sufficiently clearcut to justify the summary conclusion that Vietnamese and Americans possess measurably different value orientations on issues where mutual understanding is a basic requirement for efficiency and success of a cooperative effort.

#### Recommendation

Based on demonstrated potential, the "values theory," methodology and research instrument should be further developed and refined. Much of the development can and should be conducted on populations in the United States using culturally diverse populations to test the cross-cultural relevance of new concepts and the validity and reliability of the instruments. At a later stage, values data should be collected from socially comparable populations in several different

foreign countries--e.g., villagers, students, public administrators--as well as from a range of social groups in selected countries where the American advisory role is prominent. These soundings will not only provide timely data, but will also serve to refine the method and broaden its applicability.

## PART I. VIETNAMESE AND AMERICAN VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND SOME IMPLICATIONS

### The Concept of Values

The concept of "values" has been defined by a number of writers,<sup>10</sup> most of whom agree that they are deep-seated beliefs and premises which condition and justify attitudes and choices of action. They include general assumptions about the nature of man and the universe, about states of human life and society, about goals toward which individual and social action may be directed and about the alternative courses of action which may be used in achieving these goals. In effect, they define the required, the permitted and the prohibited; the more or less preferred; the appropriate and the inappropriate. The essence of values is that they represent positive, neutral or negative orientations toward particular end-states, goals, or courses of action, and hence serve to select or establish priorities among perceived alternatives.

While some values may be highly explicit and externalized, most are so internalized, at the level of the subconscious, that they constitute the unquestioned "givens" of existence. In effect, people generally do not know that they have "values" and are not consciously aware of what their particular value orientations are. This is the reason that knowledge of values, whether they represent positive, neutral, or negative orientations, can be so powerful in persuasion.

To the extent that values are shared by the people of a culture or subculture, they permit those who share them to see the world in meaningful and related units. The sharing of values by members of a culture or subculture is

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<sup>10</sup>Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968), p. 16; Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 388-433; and Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 402.

necessary if they are to maintain efficient social intercourse and communication. It is because people agree--often quite unknowingly--to use the same forms of logic, the same kinds of premises and criteria, that their reactions to others and to the world around them are coherent and integrated. Like language, values inculcated in youth tend to persist throughout one's lifetime and to be among the least changeable elements of the culture that is passed from one generation to the next. Hence, values provide one of the principal elements of cultural and social continuity.

The set of shared values which characterizes a culture affects the perceptions and behavior of its people in a manner very similar to the way in which grammar affects speech: just as a speaker is unaware of how his native grammar is guiding his thoughts and their presentation, he is also unaware of how his values are guiding his perceptions, logic and judgments. People from different cultures frequently and mistakenly accuse each other of irrationality simply because they do not share a common basis of rationality.

Values have a tendency to be reinforced both by the interactions of those who hold the same values, and by the holder's interpretation of his own experiences and of the events which occur in his environment. The reinforcement process will, in most cases, be intermittent, and in few instances are values reinforced in all the experiences of a people. However, if the way in which people view "reality" has validity or seems to have validity, this constitutes adequate reinforcement for the persistence of that particular value. By selecting events which tend to reinforce values, people can diverge from empirical reality for a long time. For example, if people believe that government is corrupt and does nothing to help the people, then individual and isolated cases of corruption will assume greater importance in the reinforcement of this basic belief than will honesty on the part of the preponderance of government workers. Attempts to demonstrate a new government's real concern for the people will be difficult to accomplish, given the people's apriori skepticism.

### Differences Between Values, Attitudes and Beliefs

A culture's belief system is composed of several elements which include values, attitudes and individual beliefs. Values are commonly defined as being at the highest level of generality, and as such are limited in number and are conceptions which cut across specific objects and situations and beyond immediate goals to more general classes of concepts and end states of action. Values are also general imperatives to action, "not only a belief about the preferable but also a preference for the preferable."<sup>11</sup> For example, a value is one which leads the individual to believe that such and such an end-state of existence (a comfortable life, a world at peace, equality, freedom, pleasure) is preferable to all other end-states of existence, and that such and such a mode of behavior (ambition, cleanliness, honesty, responsibility) is the preferable way of obtaining such objectives. Values cannot be "proven" in the sense of being grounded in empirical reality, but rather must be inferred from the choices made consciously or unconsciously by the holders of such values.

Attitudes, on the other hand, are the organization of several beliefs which tend to be focused on a specific object or situation, and which assert that certain characteristics about the object or situation are true or false and that other things about it are desirable or undesirable. For example, the saying "Families who pray together stay together" is an attitude. The statement refers specifically to the role that religion should play in one's life and asserts the belief that people who share and practice their religion together as a family are held together in a strong personal bond. It also implies a preferable pattern of behavior to achieve a specific objective. Compared to values, attitudes tend to be not only more specific and numerous but much more the product of conscious logic and emotion and hence very much affected by external situations.

Beliefs appear to be both statements of fact and evaluations of specific objects (physical or social, concrete or abstract) or situations. For example, beliefs include such statements as "The world is round," "All men are equal,"

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<sup>11</sup> Rokeach, op. cit., p. 16.

"Eating an apple a day will keep you healthy and strong." Consequently an individual's beliefs may range into the millions and are usually subject to empirical validation.

Figure 1 exemplifies the key characteristics of values, attitudes, and beliefs and major differences among them. While it should be recognized that all three tend to merge at one point or another, it is still useful to distinguish among them.

### Measurement Concepts and Instruments

Early in the previous research project, concepts and items were drawn from an existing instrument developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck<sup>12</sup> for measuring values cross-culturally. Extensions were made of the Kluckhohn concept and a new set of items--much easier to administer to illiterate audiences than those used by Kluckhohn--were assembled in an instrument called the Taxonomy of Concerns. The theoretical underpinnings of the instruments used by Kluckhohn and the adaption by HSR revolved around what Kluckhohn described as certain universal life problems: problems for which all people, of all times, have had to find some manner of solution. Five classes of such problems were identified and to these the concept of "value area" was applied. Within each value area three different possible value orientations toward that area were identified. Discussed below are the five value areas and their orientations: Human Nature, Man-Nature, Time, Activity, and Relational.

1. Human Nature deals with judgments about the basic character of human nature or of the moral nature of man. This was assessed by determining the respondent's verbal reactions to socially unacceptable acts and his evaluations of the motives of people. Within this framework, man can be seen as basically good, intrinsically evil, or as a mixture of good and evil.

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<sup>12</sup> Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit.; see also Sternin, et al., op. cit.

Figure 1. The Ordering of Values, Attitudes, and Beliefs

<p><u>VALUE</u></p> <p>Individualism is desirable</p>			
<p><u>Attitude</u></p> <p>I have a positive feeling toward a society that gives everyone the maximum leeway to express his own personal talents, desires and styles.</p>		<p><u>Attitude</u></p> <p>I have a positive feeling toward a government that gives maximum response to individual needs and maximum respect for individual rights.</p>	
<p><u>Belief</u></p> <p>Individual aspirations are god-given and must not be thwarted.</p>	<p><u>Belief</u></p> <p>Society is not (or need not be) a zero-sum game. The full expression of one individual's god-given aspirations does not of necessity rob another of the same opportunity.</p>	<p><u>Belief</u></p> <p>All men are created equal; they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights.</p>	<p><u>Belief</u></p> <p>The people know what is best for them and are capable of governing themselves to achieve this end.</p>

2. Man-Nature is concerned with the respondent's judgment about the proper relation of man to nature and, in general, to the environment that surrounds him. If one feels that events are inevitable and that fortune or misfortune are acts of fate, this fatalism is characterized as submission. The feeling that, although events are fixed, the individual can modify his own behavior so as to live in a balanced union with his environment (with conflict reduction as a primary motive), is called harmony. An approach to life characterized by control and mastery of the environment is described as dominance.
3. Time deals with the temporal focus of the respondent, particularly with reference to his perspective for deciding on courses of action. If he places great value on the things of the past and/or draws heavily on precedent or tradition for guidance, he is characterized as traditional. An individual characterized by a "timeless ahistorical present," reacting on the basis of cues and factors contained in immediate conditions, is described as having a situational orientation with respect to time. An individual who focuses on present conditions only insofar as they can be used to shape the future, or who feels the importance of setting goals and planning to reach them, is goal oriented.
4. Activity deals with judgments about the basic sources of satisfaction derived from different activities of life. An individual who places great value in taking action for the sake of accomplishments, either materially or in terms of seeking a higher socio-economic level, is considered oriented toward achievement. A person who derives satisfaction from the action itself, regardless of its outcome, as a means of self-expression, is characterized as expressive. Finally a person who engages in activity for the purpose of evolving as a better person morally, spiritually or intellectually, and for no other reason, is described as inner-development oriented.
5. Relational has as its principal focus the concept of authority relationships and the locus for making decisions. An individual who feels that decision making should take place on the basis of strict lines of authority, with emphasis on superior-subordinate relationships, is characterized as having a formalistic orientation. A peer oriented value commitment is attributed to those respondents who feel that the exercise of power and the making of decisions should be rooted in the group process. This orientation is also characterized by a focus on group discussion for the purpose of reaching consensus. An individualistic orientation is one in which the respondent feels that each person should make his own decisions and act in a manner relatively independent of other people.

Recognizing that any approach to values necessarily reveals only certain parts of the domain that might be referred to as values, and to the interactions between values and other aspects of society, these five value areas originally developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck comprised the yardstick on which the cultural values of different societies could be measured, and the findings made comparable.

Although Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck hypothesized that value orientations of any given culture might vary according to the type of activity discussed, within the five value areas items were not developed to test or to demonstrate this phenomenon systematically. Consequently, the Taxonomy of Concerns attempted more systematic measurement of each of the above value areas in terms of three major types of activity, i.e., either personal and social activities, economic and business activities, or government and community activities. These activities, called content areas, refer to important classes of activities that are a necessary part of all cultures. Specific activities within content areas were chosen for their relevance to psychological operations and to cooperative endeavors between cultures. The three general content areas were defined, and a series of questions reflecting a given value area and its alternative orientation was written. The content areas were delineated as follows:

1. The Personal and Social area includes those relationships and activities in which the individual participates as a total personality rather than in a specific role such as businessman or politician. Central to this category are all forms of interaction with other individuals around him, as reflected in general role performance and total status as a person.
2. The second area of human concerns is Economics and Business. This includes those concepts which express relationships and activities in which individuals participate through occupational roles and consumer roles involving the production, exchange and consumption of goods and services.
3. The Government and Community area includes concepts involving political institutions, including political institutions superordinate to those of the community, and relationships and behavior originating outside the local group community.

The Taxonomy of Concerns questionnaire consisted of 45 questions, nine for each of the five value areas. Each group of nine items was further divided into groups of three, each designed to measure one content area. An item consisted of a short stem followed by three alternatives which the respondents were asked to rank in order of preference.

For example, one question asked was:

When a person does something wicked or evil, that is looked upon as shameful, the kind of criticism that would make a person feel the worst comes from:

- A. the elders that have the respect of all the people.
- B. friends, relatives and neighbors.
- C. the person's own conscience.

This question taps the Relational value area, and the personal/social content area.

In order to elicit comparable data for Vietnamese and Americans, the Taxonomy of Concerns employed in Vietnam was translated into English and, with few modifications, was administered to the American groups. A number of changes in word order were required because of the differences in syntax between the two languages. In those cases in which the frame of reference established by the stem seemed inappropriate, a different set of words was substituted to change only the scene but not the sense. For example, one of the questions asked in Vietnamese was, "If one person finds new methods for planting and caring for his fields and he receives a high income of that season...". This was modified to read, "If a person finds new ways to do his job better and he gets a pay raise because of it...".<sup>13</sup>

A second change introduced was that the American groups were asked to complete the questionnaire themselves rather than having it administered orally as was required in Vietnam, since in most cases the Vietnamese respondents did

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<sup>13</sup> For an evaluation of the implications of such modifications, see Part II, Subjective Evaluation Task 1.

not possess a satisfactory level of literacy. (Vietnamese interviewers were instructed only to repeat questions, not clarify them.)

The format of both questionnaires was identical as questions and alternatives on both the Vietnamese and English versions were presented in the same random order.

In addition to the values questionnaire both the Vietnamese and Americans were asked biographic questions to determine if certain demographic characteristics were associated with significant values variations. For the Vietnamese, two separate questionnaires were designed to elicit information on the respondent's personal background: age, sex, place of origin, his family, his occupation, education, media exposure, travel, contact with the Viet Cong, etc. The American respondents completed a one-page form consisting of questions about age, sex, religion, education, foreign experience, military experience and previous occupation.

The results of the analysis of interactions between value orientations and demographic characteristics for both Vietnamese and American samples will be found in Appendix A.<sup>14</sup>

#### The Vietnamese and American Samples

The Taxonomy of Concerns was first administered in 1967 to 120 Vietnamese respondents age 16 years old or over selected at random from Binh Hanh hamlet, located in Dinh Tuong province in the Mekong Delta.<sup>15</sup> Binh Hanh, a Buddhist community about eight kilometers east of the province capital of My Tho, is fairly typical of many hamlets of the delta.<sup>16</sup> The hamlet was a well-established

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<sup>14</sup> See Sternin, et al., op cit., for a description of the criteria for hamlet selection and further details for the Vietnamese sample.

<sup>15</sup> Sternin, et al., op cit.

<sup>16</sup> Demographic data were compared with the writings of Hickey and Hendry, both of whom wrote about hamlets in the general area; the findings appear to be comparable.

community of long standing with the majority of its population engaged in agriculture. Demographically, Binh Hanh is like most other hamlets in the delta in that female residents outnumbered male residents by roughly twenty percent, older people (40 and above) outnumbered the younger, the median education was three years of elementary school, with the younger people generally better educated than their elders.

Four American groups were selected for comparison of data with those obtained from Vietnamese. The likelihood of the Americans' being assigned to Vietnam was a major consideration. One group was comprised of 126 civilians with the Agency for International Development (AID), in various stages of predeparture training. Another group was composed of military personnel who might be sent to Vietnam to participate in pacification, psychological operations, and combat activities. These included 98 military and civilian officers at the Civil Affairs School at Fort Gordon, Georgia, and 117 Marine recruits from Camp Lejeune in North Carolina. A group of college students was sampled to obtain a reliability check on the instrument. The questionnaire was administered twice, one month apart, to 57 University of Maryland students in order to determine the consistency of responses elicited by the questionnaire.<sup>17</sup>

#### Comparison of Vietnamese and American Value Orientations

Presented below is a discussion of data findings relating to the value differences between Vietnamese and American respondents.

Throughout the discussion our analysis of the data rests on two fundamental assumptions--(1) that there is a valid translation of value concepts to specific items, and (2) that in any case we are tapping only a part of the total domain of values. In order to draw as many inferences as possible from the data, in terms of interactions among values and dependencies between values

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<sup>17</sup>See Part II, for a discussion of the results of these findings. See Appendix B for comparison between the four groups comprising the American samples.

and other aspects of societal functioning, we have supplemented our findings with references to observations made by others who have written about American and Vietnamese values.

#### A. Human Nature (Table 1)

The general Vietnamese characterization of man's nature as primarily a mixture of good and evil is compatible with the literature on the Vietnamese, which tends to portray them as a pragmatic people, making few a priori judgments about man's basic nature. For centuries Vietnamese education stressed the Confucian position that all men at their birth are naturally good, but that as they grow older, their natures become widely different.<sup>18</sup> This position is also expressed in a number of proverbs, such as the one which states that on a full stomach, one may become a Buddha, but when hungry one may become a ghost (i. e., become an evil and disruptive force).

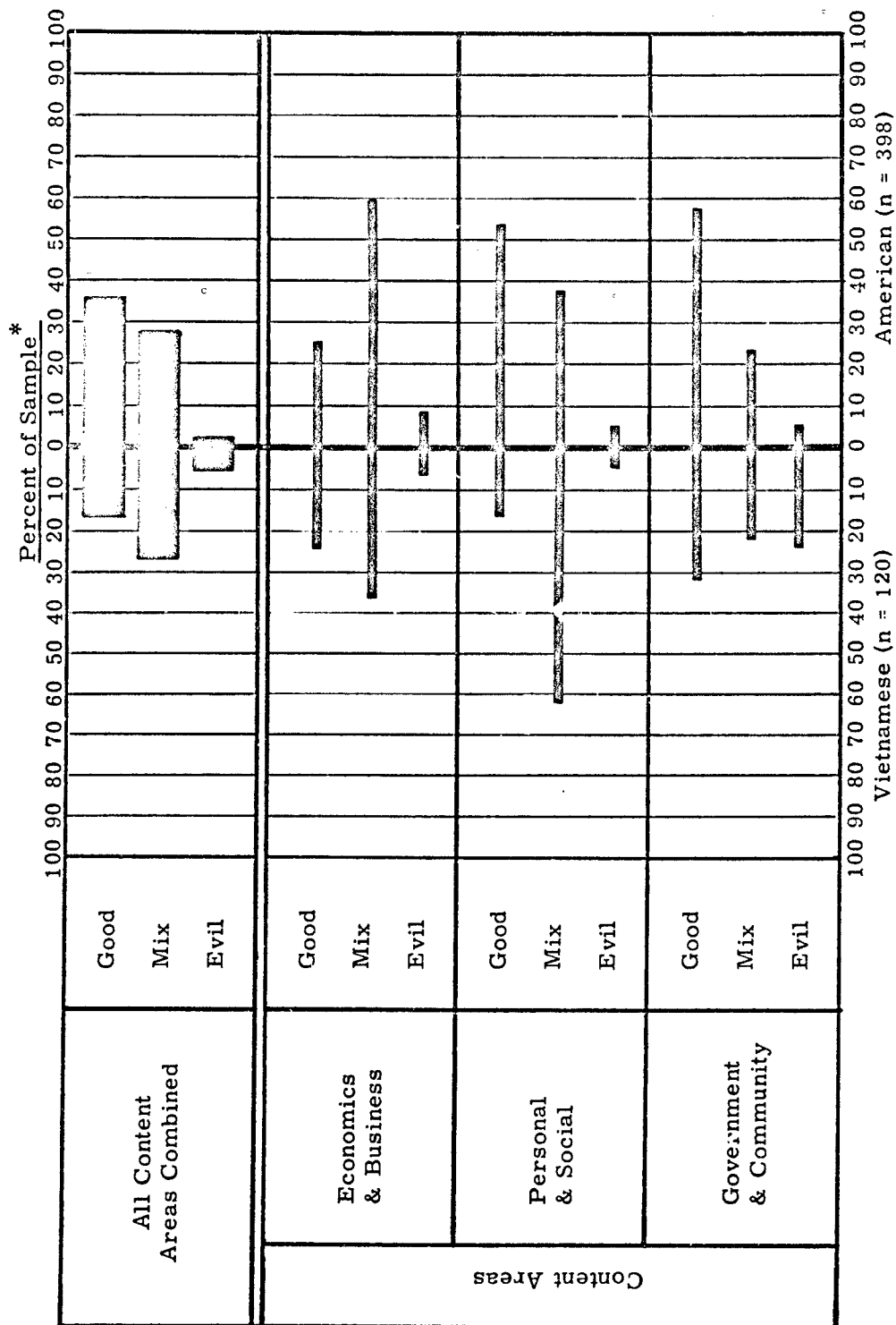
Hirsch attributes this pragmatism in part to the fact that the Vietnamese approach life in pluralistic terms in which the emphasis is placed upon the constant search for alternatives.<sup>19</sup> This is particularly noticeable in the Vietnamese acceptance of diversity in religion and religious philosophy. Although a Vietnamese may consider himself a Buddhist, there is little reluctance to celebrate Christian holidays or worship other deities. The Cao Dai faith in Vietnam, combining elements of all major religions and stressing the essential harmony of all religious and philosophical systems, illustrates this aspect of Vietnamese society. Founded in 1926, the Cao Dai church claimed to have gained nearly one million followers within a period of about thirty years. Religious intolerance has been rare in Vietnam, and the few examples of religious strife to be found in Vietnamese history have, most observers agree, been more political than religious

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<sup>18</sup>Traditional VN (Confucian) view as related in the Three Character Classic.

<sup>19</sup>Abraham M. Hirsch, "Attitudinal Differences Between Vietnamese and Americans" (Lecture presented in Saigon, Vietnam, November 1967), pp. 10-11.

Table 1. Human Nature



\* Percentages do not sum to 100% because of a residual category, not included here, comprising those whose responses could not be classified in one of the three orientation categories.

in nature. The most significant departure from this pattern was found in the area of government and community, where a larger proportion of the sample viewed human affairs in government as inherently good, although by the same token, a larger proportion also looked on it as evil. It is evident that in this area a clearer distinction is being made between the polar types, although no single value position best characterized the sample of Vietnamese.

Americans, on the other hand, are more likely to see man as fundamentally good, especially in the personal/social and government/community realms of activity. The one major exception to this trend is the relatively low good orientation toward economic and business activities as compared to the predominant view that a mixture of good and evil are characteristic of such activities.

Hirsch characterizes Americans as "monists" in the sense of being committed to the "one" which commands total respect, loyalty, and devotion.<sup>20</sup> Monism, which is rooted in Judeo-Christian ethics, stresses the belief that of each kind, of each type and of each alternative, there can be only one alternative that is good. Consequently, Americans find it easy to characterize things, people and events as good or bad, while Vietnamese feel they enjoy a fuller life with far more options by combining alternatives. The Vietnamese approach to morality seems more relativistic than that of many Americans. Probably few Vietnamese could understand the fervor of American moralists in a general condemnation of the "sins" of gambling, prostitution, graft, or corruption. Yet an excess of any of these "understandable vices" would meet instant and strong disapproval in Vietnamese society. But it is more often the excess, the lack of proportion, that the Vietnamese condemn, rather than the act itself.

In his study of American society, Williams has made a number of comments which also tend to support our findings about the American sample. Referring to a number of foreign and domestic observers of American life, he states that all are in agreement on one point: Americans tend to "see the world in

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<sup>20</sup>Hirsch, op. cit., p. 9-10.

moral terms."<sup>21</sup> They are less in agreement on what these terms are as much as the fact that this moral basis does exist and is attributable to Judeo-Christian ethics, with the Puritan Ethic playing a significant role. The fact that Americans tend to be more optimistic and view the nature of man as good, Williams contends, stems from the American faith in progress, in the "better tomorrow" and in the perfectibility of the common man. Henry Steele Commager reflects this optimism when he writes:

Throughout their history, Americans have insisted that the best was yet to be.... The American knew that nothing was impossible in his brave new world.... Progress was not, to him, a mere philosophical ideal but a commonplace of experience.<sup>22</sup>

#### B. Man-Nature (Table 2)

Looking at the area in its entirety, more Vietnamese and Americans prefer the dominance orientation to the other two alternatives. The difference between the two cultures is marked by the relative emphasis each places on the orientation--more than twice as many Americans as Vietnamese were dominance oriented.<sup>23</sup>

Our findings for the Vietnamese are generally consistent with what is known of Vietnamese culture. Where other Western observers have tended to stress the harmony or submission orientation they are generally referring to content which is explicitly concerned with cosmological matters involving universal order or natural and supernatural phenomena over which man has relatively little control.<sup>24</sup> Our findings, on the other hand, are drawn from content which is less

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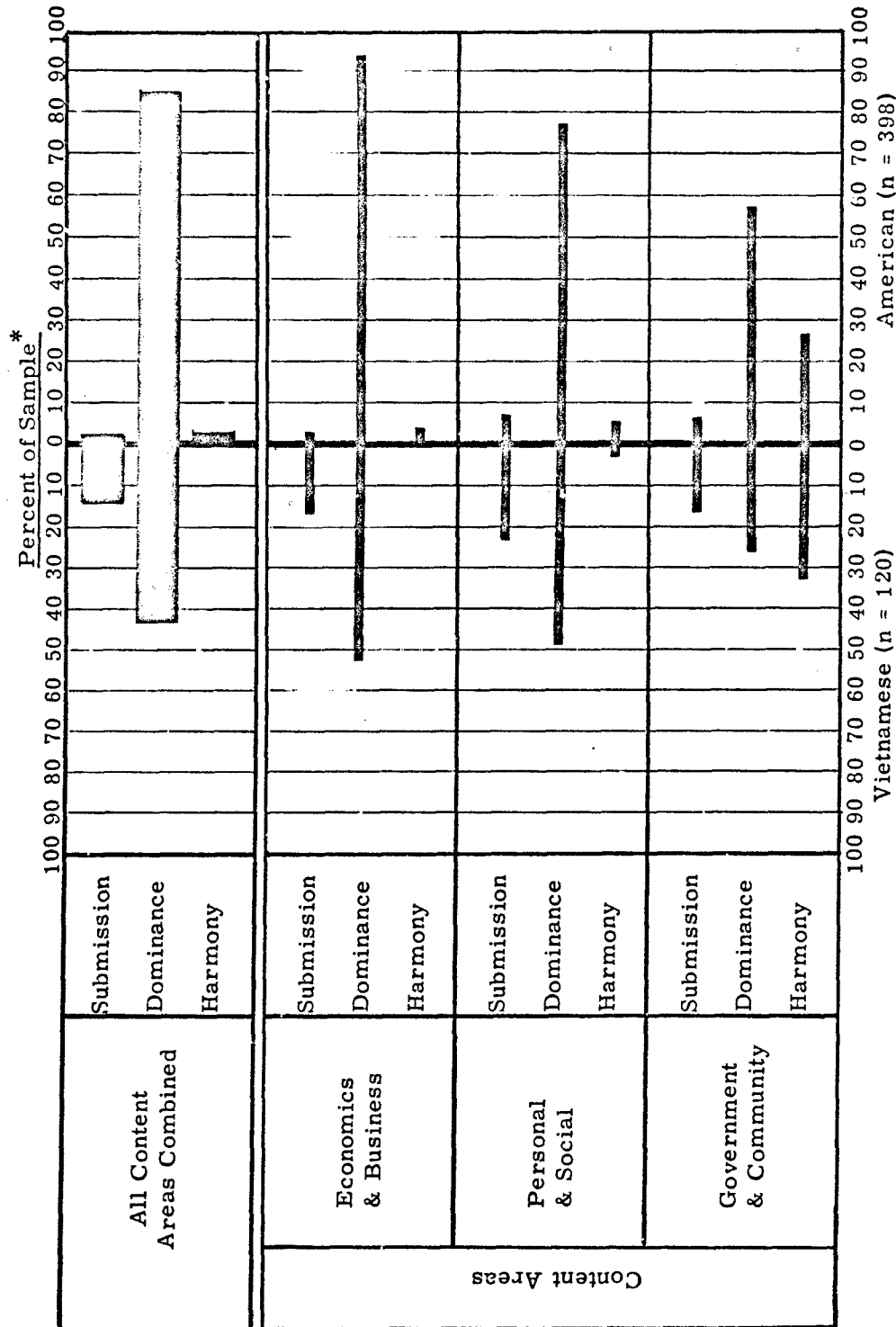
<sup>21</sup> Williams, op. cit., p. 424; see also Arensberg and Niehoff, op. cit., pp. 159-161, 165-169, 175-177.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in Williams, op. cit., p. 432.

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that in this value area there is a large Vietnamese residual category which means that there were relatively fewer Vietnamese who could be unambiguously classified than there were Americans.

<sup>24</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, "The Struggle and the War: The Maze of Vietnamese Politics," The Atlantic (August 1967); Paul Mus, "Foreword" to Gerald C. Hickey, Village in Vietnam (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964); Hirsch, op. cit., pp. 20-24.

Table 2. Man-Nature



\* Percentages do not sum to 100% because of a residual category, not included here, comprising those whose responses could not be classified in one of the three orientation categories.

cosmological and more sociological--i.e., concerned with immediate environments, economic, social and political--over which man has relatively more control.<sup>25</sup>

This distinction is clearly drawn by Hickey who discusses the cosmological harmony orientation at some length, but points out that this does not commit the villagers to fatalism in dealing with the practicalities of everyday life.<sup>26</sup> Other writers have made similar observations. Hendry and Scigliano have noted the willingness of Vietnamese farmers to accept fertilizers, improved varieties of seed and livestock, and better irrigation methods, where demonstration proved that innovation was effective. Inoculation against disease for both humans and animals has become a commonly accepted practice in Vietnam in recent years.<sup>27</sup> Thus, technological innovations have dramatically demonstrated to the pragmatic Vietnamese that in certain situations man can significantly influence his environment. Furthermore, the most famous work of Vietnamese literature noted over one hundred and fifty years ago that "man's firmness has often triumphed over destiny."<sup>28</sup>

When the content areas are examined, the findings for the Vietnamese are of special interest in their clear indication that dominance applies mainly in the areas of economics/business and personal/social, while harmony is the preferred alternative in government/community.

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<sup>25</sup> In our sample, it was the older generation--aged 40 and over--which showed up as most harmony or submission oriented, while the younger generation comprising some 60 percent of the total sample, was markedly dominance oriented. The stronger dominance orientation of the younger generation may indicate a real cultural shift in values or may simply reflect the fact that they are young and, for the most part, better educated.

<sup>26</sup> Hickey, Village in Vietnam, *op. cit.*, p. 57, 277.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Scigliano, South Vietnam: Nation Under Stress (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1963); James B. Hendry, The Small World of Khanh Hau (Chicago: Aldine, 1964), pp. 233-240.

<sup>28</sup> Nguyen Du, Kim Van Kieu. English translation by Le Xuan Thuy. Khai Tri, Saigon, 1963, p. 75.

The American sample overwhelmingly chose the dominance orientation in all three content areas. One does not have to search the literature on American values very long to find considerable substantiating evidence that Americans generally place a high value on action and the mastery of their physical or social environments.<sup>29</sup>

### C. Time (Table 3)

Both Vietnamese and Americans prefer the situational (present) orientation in roughly the same proportions. Striking differences between the two groups appear, however, in their responses to the other alternatives: the Vietnamese show a strong preference for the traditional (past) orientation while the Americans are almost exclusively goal (future) oriented.

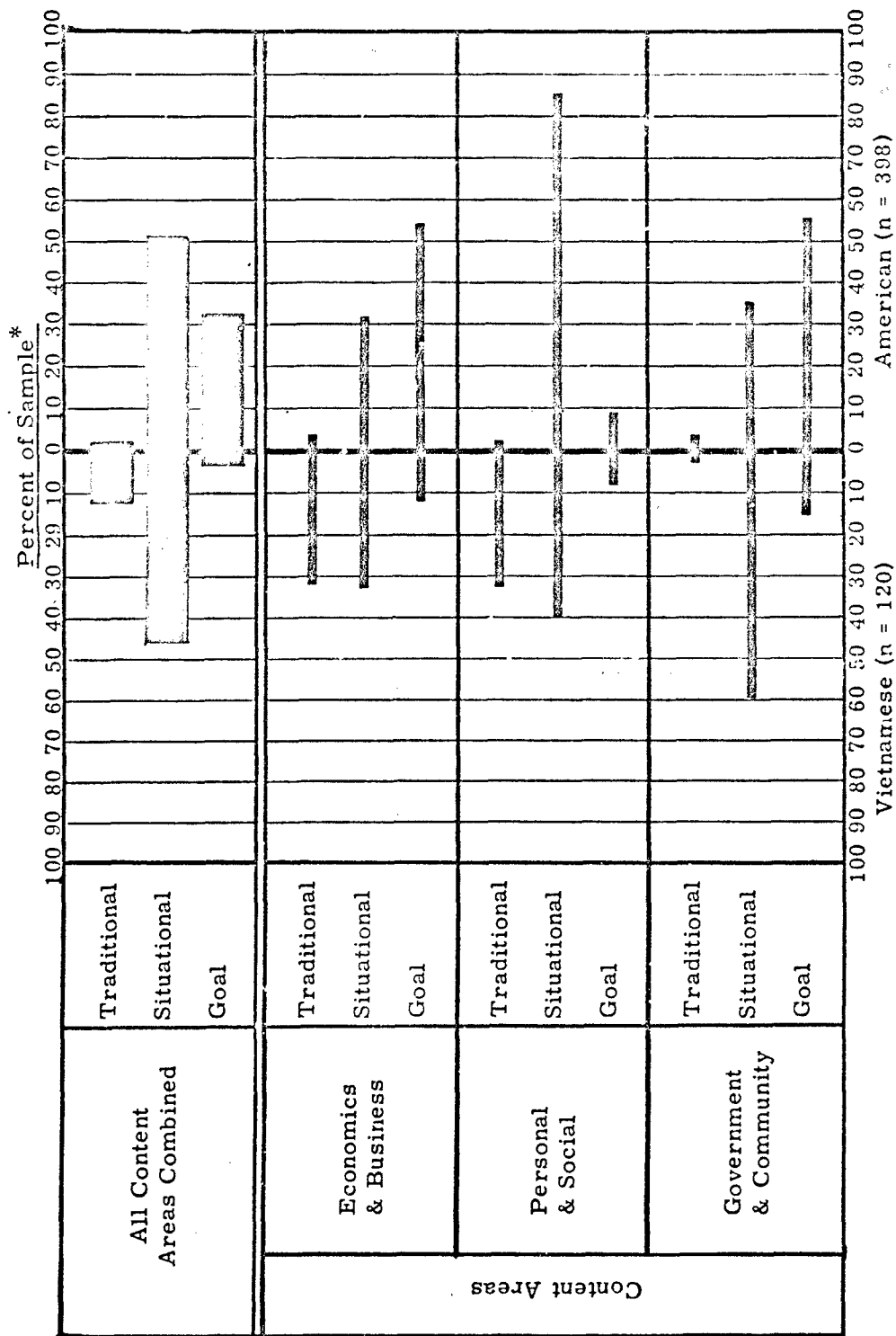
Other interesting and significant differences emerge when we examine the orientations by content area. Here we find that the Vietnamese preference for the situational is reflected mainly in government/community, less so in personal/social, and least in economic/business. The traditional orientation is reflected about equally in the latter two areas, and hardly at all in government/community.

The orientations in the government/community area are particularly interesting in that the situational predominates almost to the exclusion of the traditional. This may reflect the tense military situation, the political instability and the local insecurity which have prevailed in the delta for many years. The Vietnamese peasant, as a result, may have come to reject traditional ways as no longer relevant or effective for dealing with daily life. Similarly, his low goal orientation suggests that he is perhaps shutting out thoughts of all except the most immediate future since the longer range future is so uncertain and beyond his control. Given the general preference for the situational, however, it seems more probable that situational plus cultural factors are working in combination to produce these responses.

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<sup>29</sup>Williams, op. cit., p. 421; Arensberg and Niehoff, op. cit. pp. 169-172.

Table 3. Time



\* Percentages do not sum to 100% because of a residual category, not included here, comprising those whose responses could not be classified in one of the three orientation categories.

Three findings characterize the American sample in the Time value area. First, there is an almost total absence of any traditional orientation in any of the three content areas. Second, the situational orientation is the predominant choice in personal and social affairs. Third, Americans are more goal oriented in the institutional areas of economics/business and government/community, although the situational orientation is just slightly less strong.

There are a number of works which discuss the conceptual differences between the American and non-American value of time,<sup>30</sup> although there are differences of opinion on what American value predominates. On one aspect, though, there is little disagreement: American culture tends towards an ahistorical and utilitarian orientation, traceable to our frontier tradition. The emphasis is placed upon a better future and a general faith in progress through growth, maturity and institutionalized group efforts.

However, some evidence exists today to the effect that American culture is beginning to place less value on the future or goal oriented category and more on the situational. Clyde Kluckhohn wrote in 1957 that he had measured in a number of tests a decline of the Puritan Ethic as the core of the dominant middle class value system with the corollary that there was a trend toward "present time" in contrast to "future time" value orientation. Furthermore, it was his impression that this change was accompanied by a decline in the American value placed upon "optimism."<sup>31</sup> The current "hippie" movement may represent a kind of avant garde.

If such a change is in fact beginning to occur in American culture, it might be first noticeable in the personal and social sphere, where the total personality of the individual is involved, before becoming evident in other areas of activity.

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<sup>30</sup>E. T. Hall, The Silent Language (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959); Arensberg and Niehoff, op. cit., pp. 163-165.

<sup>31</sup>Clyde Kluckhohn, "Have There Been Discernible Shifts in American Values During the Past Generation?" American Values and American Performance, Vol. II, American Project Conference, Dedham, Mass., May 23-27, 1957. (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for International Studies, MIT, 1957), pp. i, ii.

#### D. Activity (Table 4)

In general, across content areas, the Vietnamese appear to be more achievement oriented than are Americans, and Americans favor the inner development orientation more than do the Vietnamese. Second in importance for the Vietnamese is inner development, and for the Americans, achievement. One similarity not shown in the chart is the very high residual category of unclassifiable respondents, both Vietnamese and American: 62 percent of the Vietnamese respondents and 56 percent of the Americans.

The importance of the content areas is underscored when, for the Vietnamese, achievement is the highest single response category in the data but only for the content area of economics/business. In contrast, the achievement motivation does not seem as relevant to the government/community or personal/social areas. Also interesting here is the relatively high expressive orientation in the government/community area. The inner development orientation is seen as applying primarily in the personal and social area.

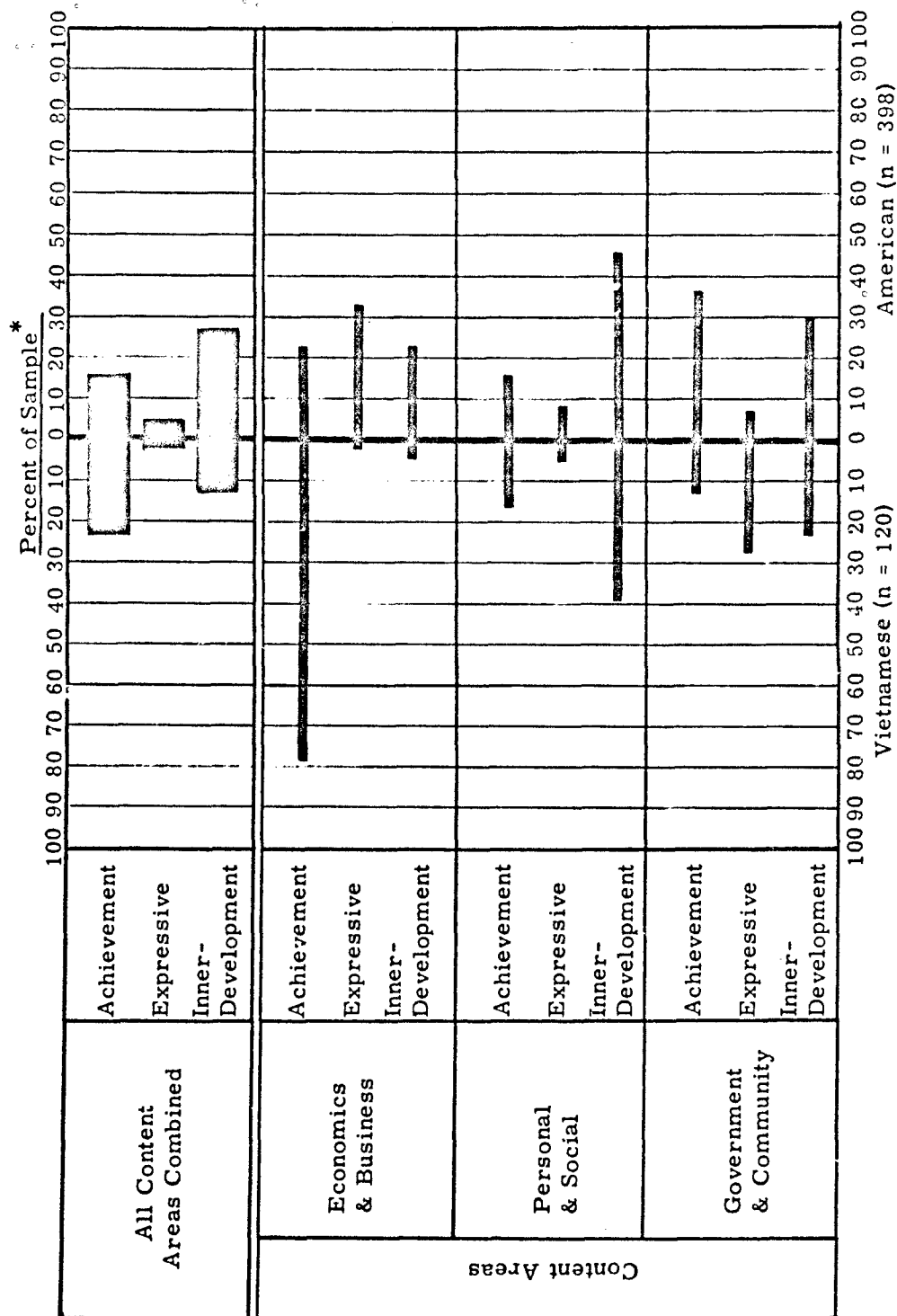
The very high achievement orientation in economics and business may be a reflection of the economic conditions in Vietnam, where the economic struggle is a very real phenomenon, and where little opportunity exists, as it does for the more affluent nations, for a value other than achievement. The weight attributed to achievement by the Vietnamese may also be a manifestation of the value attached to business prowess and success. As Hendry notes in his village study:<sup>32</sup>

Social goals and Western-style economic incentives melt into a blend that, on balance, favors increasing wealth and the accumulation of material goods. A man's social position in the community is determined partly by his income and the kinds of prestige items which he can buy and display. A position in the village organizations depends on his ability to contribute financially to their support. His responsibility to his ancestors and to the other members of his family requires that the family cult be maintained with dignity and proper honor, that the house where the cult is celebrated be substantial and handsome, and that he leave behind the means by which his descendants can continue the cult on the same, or a more elaborate, scale. Provided it is reasonably honest, the society attaches no stigma to any means of achieving these social and economic goals.

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<sup>32</sup> Hendry, op. cit., p. 257.

Table 4. Activity



\* Percentages do not sum to 100% because of a residual category, not included here, comprising those whose responses could not be classified in one of the three orientation categories.

The low achievement orientation associated with government/community affairs may be related to the continuing problem of political instability and local insecurity but more likely it represents a combination of situational with deep-seated social and cultural factors which tend to limit or discourage individual initiative in this area of activity. We are referring here to such things as the hereditary local leadership, weak solidarity ties among villagers, and the assumption, historically well supported, that political initiative is the prerogative of the governor not the governed.

Our sample of Americans, who were young and had not chosen business as a career, were not very achievement oriented in economics and business, especially in comparison with the Vietnamese. This finding is not in keeping with the "success story" myth about the United States in which the self-made man is highly respected.

Our findings suggest that Americans from our sample are not much attracted by the Horatio Alger type of myths and that American mythology may be changing. These findings can be supported from two sources. Both Williams and Kluckhohn allude to a shift away from the achievement motivation among some Americans. Williams states that American culture tends to equate personal achievement with occupational success. Whereas achievement refers to valued accomplishments, success places the emphasis upon material rewards. And since business has played a central role in American society, rewards are usually judged in terms of the fruits of competitive occupational achievement.<sup>33</sup> Kluckhohn feels that American culture is generally moving away from the value placed on practical accomplishments and more toward an expressive or inner development orientation.<sup>34</sup>

If this is in fact the case, then it is not surprising that our sample of Americans who had not chosen business as a profession scored low on the achievement orientation.

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<sup>33</sup> Williams, op. cit., pp. 417-421.

<sup>34</sup> Kluckhohn, Clyde, "Have There Been Discernible..." op. cit., p. 11.

#### E. Relational (Table 5)

More than any other value area, the Relational findings conform closest to commonly held beliefs about each culture. Setting aside the content areas for the moment, the Vietnamese appear to be predominantly formalistic, that is, believing that decision-making should take place on the basis of strict lines of authority. Americans, on the other hand, frequently chose the individualistic orientation in which each person makes his own decisions and acts in a manner relatively independent of other people.

When considering the content area, the Vietnamese group was formalistic in both areas of economics/business and government/community. No single value orientation characterized the Vietnamese in their personal and social affairs. Of particular interest, especially in terms of its implication for nation building, is the very low choice-rate of the peer-oriented category and the subsequent inference that the collaborative tendency among Vietnamese is weak.

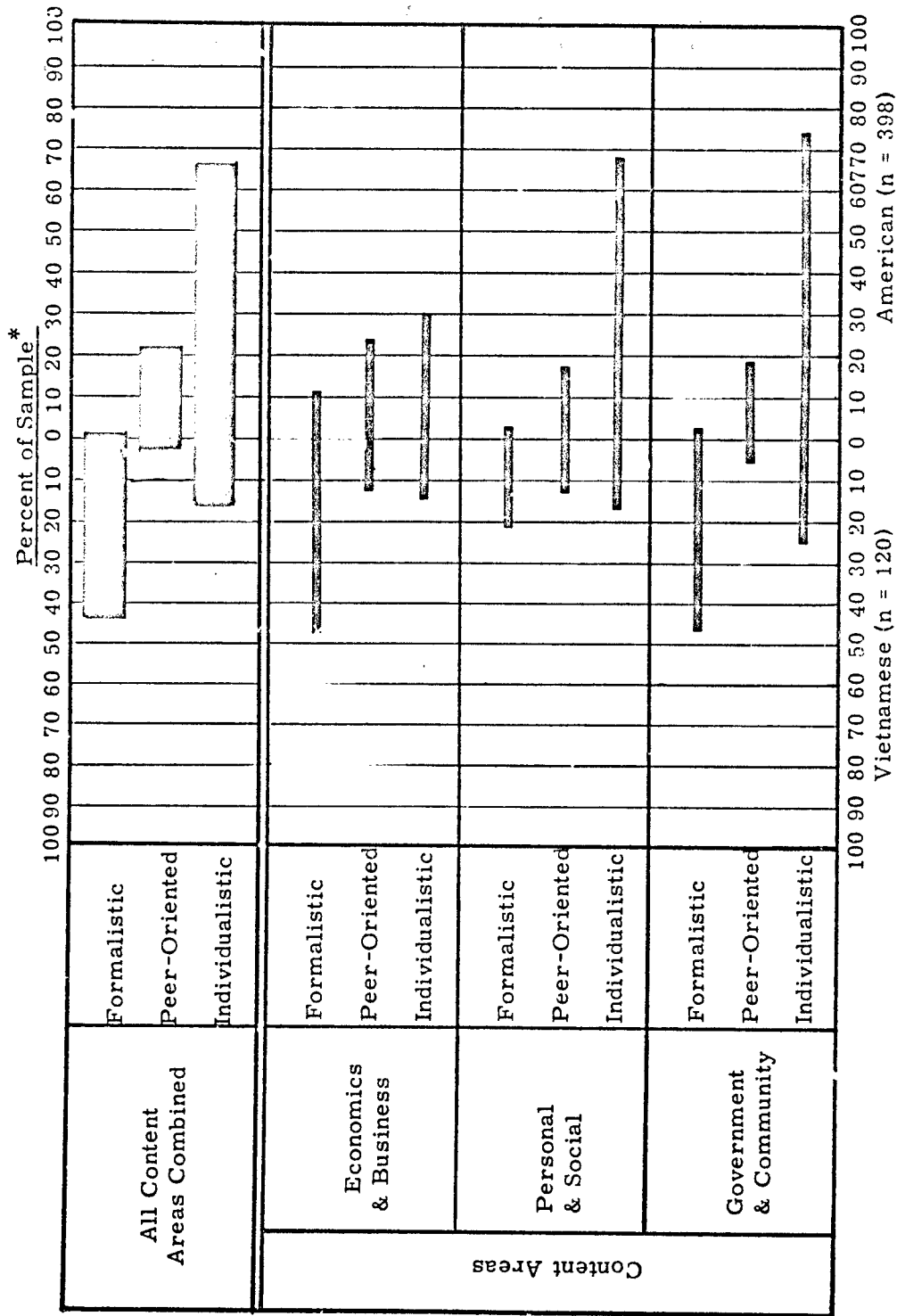
There is much in the literature on Vietnam to demonstrate the authoritarian character and hierarchical structure of Vietnamese society.<sup>35</sup> From the family unit, where the word of the father or oldest male member is obeyed practically without question, to the national government--be it in the form of the emperor or a military junta--the Vietnamese have a tradition of acceptance of superior-inferior relationships. Their language reflects the hierarchical nature of their social system, particularly in the use of personal pronouns which establish superior-inferior categories in all social contexts. While the Vietnamese have an ingrained acceptance of people in positions of authority, they remain strongly individualistic in many areas; perhaps no people are more ingenious in finding ways to ignore or quietly nullify unpopular edicts from central government.

Hendry, in his study of the Delta hamlet of Khanh Hau, remarks that there is little sense of community spirit among the villagers he was studying.

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<sup>35</sup> See Buttinger's discussion of the Vietnamese mandarin and its influence on Vietnamese society. Joseph Buttinger, The Smaller Dragon: A Political History of Vietnam (New York: Praeger, 1958), pp. 283-305.

Table 5. Relational



\* Percentages do not sum to 100% because of a residual category, not included here, comprising those whose responses could not be classified in one of the three orientation categories.

As an illustration of this point, he refers to the failure of a short-lived farmers' cooperative in the village which failed not so much because of financial and organizational difficulties as from the fact that there was a lack of real community spirit.<sup>36</sup> Hirsch quotes a study carried out in a district on the outskirts of Saigon: "There is not much feeling of community membership. Neighbors and relatives outside the immediate family do not appear to tend each other's business, nor do they frequently get involved in helping each other--even in times of emergency."<sup>37</sup>

The Americans, who have prized "teamwork," are yet heavily committed to the individualistic orientations particularly in personal/social and government/community areas. Although such a position is less clear in economics and business, the individualistic orientation still predominates.

Williams and Arensberg discuss at great length the development of the American faith in egalitarianism, and its effect in developing a deeply individualistic strain in American culture.<sup>38</sup> The American frontier tradition of independence and the independent decision maker all contributed to the value placed on self-reliance.

However, in conjunction with the development of the strong individualistic bent of the American pioneer, a spirit of cooperation, interdependence and teamwork also had to emerge in order to conquer the frontier. The emphasis on the individual as a free agent and the requirements for cooperative effort frequently come into direct confrontation. For example, one American guidance document states: "Work within a team for maximum training possibilities. A lone wolf is much more productive when he works with the pack."<sup>39</sup> The conflict

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<sup>36</sup> Hendry, op. cit., p. 254.

<sup>37</sup> Hirsch, op. cit., p. 29, footnote 24.

<sup>38</sup> Williams, op. cit., pp. 436-444; Arensberg and Niehoff, op. cit., pp. 178-181.

<sup>39</sup> Daniel J. Hays, "21 Practices That Have Been Helpful in 14 Years Experience Working with Developing People in Peru, Liberia and Vietnam." AID Handout (Unpublished).

between the value placed on independent decision making and the need for team work is also demonstrated in one Marine training document, "When talking about this [problem] with your men [a Marine unit], it is wise not to cut the men off too soon if they disagree with you. Let them get any bitterness they may have out into the open. If it is 'way out,' the small group of men in the discussion will soon straighten out that lad."<sup>40</sup>

While individual independence and freedom of action are highly valued in American culture, conformity to group needs is also valued. Both conformity and nonconformity have their place.

#### Implications of Values Differences for the Collaborative Effort

The preceding sections have identified and discussed a number of areas in which Vietnamese and American value orientations differ. An earlier HSR document suggested some of the problems which arise from value differences as they relate to intercultural communication, especially for psychological operations in Vietnam.<sup>41</sup> Concern here will focus primarily on the difficulties created by values differences for counterpart relations and collaborative efforts toward modernization and nation building. We believe that value differences are relevant to similar efforts in other developing nations.

In the remainder of this section we shall discuss each of the value areas in turn, first drawing out the implications of our findings in that particular area and then bringing in findings from other value areas where these seem to bear on

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<sup>40</sup> Department of the Navy, "Unit Leaders Personal Response Handbook," NAVMC 2616, 12 October 1967.

<sup>41</sup> Sternin, et al., op. cit., pp. 53-69. The primary objective of this report was to describe the psychological operations process and to show how a knowledge of Vietnamese values could be employed in improving and making psychological operations messages more relevant to the intended Vietnamese audiences.

the issues. We conclude this section with some general observations on values difference and modernization in Vietnam. A final section will suggest some general guidelines for more effective counterpart relations in this context.

### Human Nature

The tendency for Vietnamese to see man's innate nature as predominantly mixed suggests, as we have noted earlier, an inclination to take a pragmatic, open-minded stance, especially in personal and social matters. Americans appear more willing to assume that others are good, which suggests an inclination to expect certain kinds of behavior from others.

Projected into interpersonal, counterpart relationships, these different viewpoints could be disruptive. The Vietnamese, making no prior judgments and adopting a "wait-and-see" attitude, may view his relationship with his American counterpart as a game of personalities, shifting his own responses as he perceives the counterpart to be alternately exposing his good and bad sides.

The American, on the other hand, being more inclined to assume at the outset that other people are good unless proven otherwise, tends to expect good behavior from others at the outset. This expectation is likely to endure through a series of disappointments, supported by such dispensations as "making allowances" or "giving the other fellow the benefit of the doubt," and reinforced by isolated instances of outstandingly "good" behavior on the part of the other person. As a corollary, the American also tends to expect that others will make the same assumption about him and that occasional infractions of "good" behavior on his part will be overlooked. He sees interpersonal relations as based on mutual expectations of good behavior and slowly but reluctantly withdraws from this position if the expectations are not met.

Collaboration between Vietnamese and Americans may, therefore, be complicated by the mismatch between these two orientations. The American confuses the Vietnamese by his initial high expectations, his apparent eagerness to place trust in others on short acquaintance, and his slowness to admit that others are taking advantage of him. The Vietnamese disturbs the American by

his apparent unwillingness to assume at the outset that others are probably good, by his hesitancy in placing confidence in either people or ideas until their worth has been fully demonstrated.

A further complication may be introduced into the counterpart relationship by the fact that the American is generally more peer-oriented than the Vietnamese. He tends to assume that a series of exchanges will take place between working peers, as a matter of routine and on a fairly impersonal basis, while the Vietnamese is more inclined to be wary of such exchanges until a highly personal bond of rapport and trust has been established.

Moving to the area of government and community, we find that equal numbers of Vietnamese view man's innate character as good, evil, or mixed, with somewhat more selecting "good" over the other two alternatives, while almost all Americans view man as good in this area, with very few choosing evil. These findings, projected into "institutional" rather than "interpersonal" relationships, suggest first that both cultures tend toward stereotyped preconceptions of people in public office. The differences in patterning of these stereotypes appear to stem from different cultural traditions regarding the relationship between the "person" and the "office." In the Vietnamese tradition, which is essentially Confucian, the office is a reflection of the person. Good government depends on the selection and installation of officials who are essentially good, or virtuous. Conversely, when government appears to be corrupt or oppressive, it is assumed that the selection process has failed and that responsibility lies with evil officials. The Vietnamese word for "revolution," cách mạng, literally means "change of mandate," indicating removal of a leadership which is morally bankrupt and has thus lost the divine blessing essential to a peaceful and prosperous nation.

The American tradition, on the other hand, is based on a concept of government or economic institution as a system of well-defined and circumscribed roles, in which the person is a reflection of the office. This system is more concerned with institutionalized, legalistic constraints on office than it is on the innate character of the people who fill the office. Good government is a function of

the system's ability to assure conformity at all levels to idealized role, or "job," descriptions. Officials are presumed to be good because the system is designed to insure that they at least act as though they were good.

These differing orientations are likely to present problems in the area of collaborative institutional reform and modernization. Americans see institutional efficiency almost exclusively in mechanistic terms--i.e., based on a highly rationalized and impersonal system of tables of organization, job descriptions, lines of communication and control, rules and corrective devices. The individuals who man the system are selected for their technical qualifications primarily and may be plugged in or out, like replaceable parts in a machine, without unduly affecting the operation of the system over long periods of time.

The Vietnamese, on the other hand, tend to consider such impersonalistic trappings and procedures as largely irrelevant to the realities of institutional behavior. From their point of view, how an institution operates and what it produces are determined primarily by the personalities of the individuals who fill the various roles or offices at any given time and by the way their separate decisions and actions balance each other out day by day. Under pressure from their American advisors, they may appear to go along with the idea of rationalized administrative structure, but it is difficult for them to generate much enthusiasm for, or commitment to, administrative reform since they expect the structures to be manned by people who are inherently good, evil, or mixed and whose self-images and personalized role perceptions will ultimately determine the quality and level of administrative performance.

#### Man-Nature

Although both Vietnamese and Americans appear generally to prefer dominance orientation, the Americans with that orientation are far more numerous than the Vietnamese. Further, Americans and Vietnamese differ in the area of government and community affairs. Here the Vietnamese favor harmony over the other orientations, while the Americans remain strongly dominance oriented. As a corollary we note also that the Vietnamese are more formalistic in government

and community affairs--i.e., inclined to look to those above them for initiative, direction and decision-making and to expect those below them to defer--while the Americans are more individualistic--i.e., more inclined to take these matters into their own hands.

In combination, these pairs of orientations suggest rather different views of the individual's role in government and community affairs. The Vietnamese seem more willing than the Americans to accept official arbitrariness and administrative malfunction as givens, particularly when these emanate from higher levels in the administrative structure, and more inclined to deal with the situation by playing the game--i.e., by attempting to maximize personal security and advantage even if it means passing the arbitrariness and malfunctions along to those lower in the power hierarchy. (This, incidentally, is one of the principle props of systematic, institutionalized corruption inside a bureaucracy--i.e., the passing on of arbitrariness and malfunction from higher to lower levels induces a corresponding counterflow of graft in an effort to reduce the impact.)

Americans, on the other hand, are more inclined to take issue in the belief that those who first perceive arbitrariness or malfunction, or who are most immediately affected, have the right (and often the duty) to protest and to call for corrective action either in the form of redress of injury or reform of the system. Americans are prone to say: "You can't fight City Hall" but more often than not to rationalize a failed attempt rather than to say no attempt should be made.

These divergent views may produce real frustration and impatience on the part of Americans who are working with Vietnamese in an effort to modernize governmental institutions at the national or local level. The American may find that officials at all levels are generally reluctant to make an issue of inefficient procedures or corrupt practices even when the structure as a whole is clearly far from realizing its potential for achieving its manifest objectives. Oriented toward rationalized control over impersonal "systems," believing that governmental organizations and practices can and should be consciously and constantly shaped or reshaped in order to perform more "efficiently," the American finds it difficult to work with people who appear generally unprepared or unwilling to take control of their own institutions and who appear rather to accept them, in

whatever form they appear, as facts of life, somewhat like the weather--which can hopefully be forecast but about which not much can be done.

This may be less true of the more educated and modernized administrators but it is probably most true of the officials at the bottom of the heap and the public which they serve. At this level, especially in the rural areas, the American advisor may find an extreme reluctance on the part of village headmen, hamlet chiefs and their communities to assume they can or should exert meaningful pressure upwards either to obtain the goods or services which government ostensibly is supposed to provide or to reform the system which provides them.

The other side of this coin is that Americans, who are peculiarly sensitized to "feedback" and concerned about evaluating "ultimate impacts," may find the typical Vietnamese administrative hierarchy annoyingly unresponsive to signals of discontent or malfunction emanating anywhere except from the top of the power structure.

Similarly, Vietnamese administrators may seem to the American singularly uninterested in what the Americans consider one of the major functions of government--i.e., problem solving. For the Americans, problems are initially conceived as systemic and impersonal and hence subject to rational analysis and solution without necessarily involving the intrusion of personalities. The query: "Are you helping to solve the problem or are you becoming part of it?" expresses this point of view precisely. For the Vietnamese, problems are initially perceived as personal and interpersonal and hence not subject to the same kind of exposure, isolation and impersonal attack which Americans see as logical. The Vietnamese may be aware of malfunctions in the system though he would not be likely to define them in the same terms as an American. If recognized, he is more inclined to impute them to the character of particular individuals or sets of private relationships. Seeking always to maintain harmony, the Vietnamese is wary of taking issue for fear of stirring up a hornet's nest and running the risk of destroying many other similar types of personal relationships that are functioning in ways he finds reasonable and satisfactory.

Finally, we suggest that the Vietnamese do not believe that problems are ever finally solved; rather they seek to bring about a new balance of forces which they accept as temporary.

### Time

One of the most striking differences between our samples is the low goal orientation of the Vietnamese and the high goal orientation of the Americans in the area of government and community affairs. This has an obvious bearing on any collaborative efforts involving planning, and if we consider these Time orientations in combination with others, the implications become even broader.

Besides low goal orientation the Vietnamese also show low achievement and low dominance orientations in government and community affairs, which suggests not only a disinterest in setting goals, and planning toward them, but also a kind of fatalism--i.e., a feeling that government and community affairs are an area where the individual can accomplish very little and can expect to have little control over the forces that shape the future. This rather passive attitude may be reinforced by the high formalistic orientation which suggests a belief that in any event goal definition and planning, along with similar issue raising and resolving functions of government, are more properly the concern of superior authority. In these terms the high situational orientation of the Vietnamese may be interpreted as an adaptive concern with how government programs and projects may affect the individual at any moment and with what the individual can do to lessen or heighten the impact on himself.

The American, by contrast, displays along with high goal orientation, both high achievement and high dominance orientations in government and community affairs, suggesting that he is not only interested in goal definition and planning but is also strongly motivated to participate actively in the process. He believes personal accomplishment in this area is both possible and satisfying and he believes that organized effort can sufficiently control the forces that shape the future to make goal setting and planning worthwhile. Being individualistic, he also believes that anyone who will ultimately bear the responsibility for the

implementation of plans or will be affected by their outcome, has a corresponding right, and should show a willingness, to play an active part in the process. In these terms the Americans moderate situational orientation may be interpreted as an instrumental concern with securing means or removing obstacles which may help or hinder the attainment of future objectives.

Such divergent views of man's power to control the future seem to imply a profound incompatibility between Vietnamese and American approaches to the collaborative tasks of nation building. This incompatibility may be obscured at the outset, since there is, more often than not, initial agreement between both parties as to the desirability of certain generalized end-states--e.g., security, economic development, improved social services, modernized administrative structures, etc. But from this point each side appears to take a different course of thought and action.

The American expects that end-states, once agreed upon, will be translated into concrete objectives; and that these, in turn, will be broken down into specific subgoals and tasks which can be achieved through a series of programmed steps and organized sets of procedures. In other words, having accepted an end-state as desirable, he sets about planning the actual commitment of institutional structures and resources, over time, to its attainment with the expectation that all parties involved will actively participate in the process. He assumes in effect that mutual acceptance of a desired end-state means mutual acceptance of the relevance and efficacy of planning.

The Vietnamese, though agreeing on the desirability of an end-state, appear to have little of the subsequent expectations about commitment of structures, personnel, resources or time to planning. As we have suggested earlier, he appears to have little faith in the ability of any institutional or administrative structure to sustain over long periods of time the kind of impersonal, systemic and cumulative process involved in planning, programming and project implementation. This is partly because he sees institutional structures in more personalistic and hence unstable and unpredictable terms, and partly because he believes that no administration, however efficient, can possibly gain sufficient control over

the forces shaping the future, even next week, let alone next year, to make any complex or long-range planning worthwhile. Certainly, most mature Vietnamese in public service can look back upon a lifetime of experience in which planning has failed more often than not. Furthermore, the Vietnamese prefers to keep as many options as possible so that he may move in any one of a number of directions as the situation develops. Hence, there is a tendency to look upon planning as a premature and unwise restriction on alternative courses of action. This combination of pessimism and opportunism make the Vietnamese reluctant to plan and reluctant to take control over plans once assented to.

To the American advisor, these different assumptions about the relevance or efficacy of planning may be especially frustrating, since the Vietnamese counterpart may also feel that he personally cannot do much to alter the situation on the Vietnamese side, or accomplish much on his own, and that ultimately the initiative and direction in such matters must come from higher authority.

#### Activity

This value area concerns the individual's motivations for participation in various kinds of activity. In government and community affairs what is most striking is the fact that the Vietnamese predominantly chose the expressive, suggesting that they view this area of activity as one in which the individual participates mainly as an outlet for his own personality or particular opinions, needs or grievances.

The Americans, on the other hand, favor the achievement orientation and attach almost no importance to the expressive, suggesting that they view government and community affairs mainly as an area for active involvement and accomplishment. The fact that they are almost as inner-development as achievement oriented suggests that they may think of involvement in terms of a career in government or public life, which would provide an avenue for both personal development and public accomplishment.

The implications of these findings probably lie mainly in situations where Americans expect individual Vietnamese to take an active and responsible part in the many large and small tasks involved in securing, developing and managing their own nation. To be more specific, in many of these situations the American advisor is very likely to perceive the Vietnamese as "talkers" or listeners rather than "doers," willing to give, or listen to advice but not overly anxious to "take on the job."

If the American advisor makes this "black-and-white" judgment about the Vietnamese, and also accepts the same judgment about his own role--i.e., he is there to advise and not to take on the job himself--then he is potentially in an extremely frustrating position. The more he perceives the situation as one of impasse, the more he may be inclined to withdraw psychologically from the realities of the situation, on one side overidealizing what he could have accomplished on his own, and on the other looking for ways to reinforce his stereotype of the Vietnamese rather than for ways to encourage and secure their active participation in the tasks at hand. If he takes this route he will become more and more irritated with his counterparts, while they, because of their tendency to be not only expressive oriented, but also formalistic and harmony oriented, will also withdraw, feeling that it is better to do nothing at all than to take actions which will arouse further displeasure on the part of the American advisor or their own Vietnamese superiors.

#### Relational

In an institutional context, especially in government and community affairs, the high formalistic, or lineal, orientation of the Vietnamese is reflected in a flow of initiative and information from the top down with very little initiative originating at lower levels and very little information flowing back up. The Vietnamese have not had much experience in which initiative has been rewarded, and have seen many examples of initiative being suppressed or punished, since it is often interpreted by superiors as a threat to their personal leadership and authority. Similarly, they are reluctant to pass information upwards unless explicitly ordered to do so. Consequently, since doing nothing is usually safer than risking

punishment for doing or saying the wrong thing, subordinates throughout an administrative hierarchy have a tendency to commit themselves to a given course of action only so long as it has been directed by, or at least has the explicit approval of, higher authority.

The low peer orientation of the Vietnamese implies that cooperative behavior laterally is weak and tends to be limited to a small circle of intimates with whom fear of competition, disadvantage or favor seeking is minimal. The individualistic orientation would seem to indicate that the Vietnamese are less concerned with autonomy of action than with security of person. The low dominance orientation, high situational orientation, and the low achievement orientation combine with the formalistic orientation of the Vietnamese to produce patterns of behavior characterized by inaction, concern primarily for the situation at hand and general acceptance or deference to those things beyond immediate control.

By contrast, the high individualistic orientation of the American sample, particularly in government and community affairs, would suggest that individual initiative and action is generally valued. The individual at all levels of the bureaucratic hierarchy is conceived of as possessing the right to voice his own views, to communicate upwards and point out defects to superiors, to complain, to ask for an interpretation and suggest modifications. Because it is expected that the individual will assume an active rather than a passive role in the structural framework, fear of punishment tends to stem more from doing nothing than from making mistakes. In fact, the system usually rewards those who take the initiative and assume as much responsibility as possible rather than waiting to have it handed down.

Peer relations tend to extend widely among Americans and these relations are generally based on a matching of individual endeavors and interests. Mutual cooperation toward the same goals is both possible and rewarding given each individual's own area of autonomy. The formalistic orientation is quite weak and superiors are expected to define jobs in general, delegate relevant authority and responsibility and provide resources, but from there let the subordinate work out his own tactics for the accomplishments of his responsibilities. It is expected

that the superior will periodically check up, suggest new approaches, reprimand as needed, and provide new policy guidelines or procedural constraints, but otherwise not intrude.

When the American works within an institutional context in Vietnam, he does so with certain expectations, in part generated by his value orientation, about how the Vietnamese system should, in fact, operate. He expects that there will be a certain amount of delegation of authority from the top to the bottom, that his Vietnamese counterpart will have the same types of freedom of action that he enjoys, and that there will be some lateral cooperation among peers.

These American expectations are manifest in a number of different ways and through a number of different programs which the U. S. has tried to initiate in the RVN. For example, the U. S. has devoted considerable attention to "self-help projects" which are designed to develop and foster Vietnamese community spirit. The self-help project is theoretically rooted in the needs of the people at the local level, planned and executed by them in the belief that such undertakings will have greater impact and meaning for them if they participate in the initiation and completion of projects which they deem important. In practice, however, Americans continue to encounter great difficulties both in getting such requests made by the village leaders and in having the requests, once they are made, passed up the Vietnamese bureaucratic hierarchy. Informed conversations with recently returned military and civilian advisors have also indicated that self-help bogs down not only with the villagers who are the intended beneficiaries but with the Vietnamese province and district officials, who do not appear to accept the basic premise of the self-help concept and generally take the position that it is their duty to tell the peasants what projects they need and how they should be undertaken. Hence the majority of project requests come from the district chiefs.

Taking the broad view, our findings suggest that while many long-range American objectives for Vietnam, particularly in the realm of political and economic institution building, are acknowledged by Vietnamese as valid and desirable objectives, the means for attaining such objectives have not yet been agreed upon.

Being goal oriented and generally optimistic that today's efforts can significantly mold the future, Americans are also generally committed to the idea that change must be evolutionary rather than revolutionary. To an American, evolutionary change means more than change occurring in an orderly and peaceful manner. It means a process of change which is "institutionalized" in the sense that it is brought about by the conscious, continuous and coordinated efforts of the existing institutions--social, economic and governmental. Institutions are seen as legalistic and impersonal systems of action rather than as the instruments of an arbitrary and personalistic leadership. Americans, in spite of their individualistic tendencies, place public confidence and trust in institutions and institutional control of change because they have been brought up to believe that these are the most legitimate, dependable and effective vehicles for attaining both personal and societal goals.

These thinking habits, acquired by a long slow process of socialization in his own culture, form part of the perception and decision-making machinery which the American carries with him into an overseas assignment. He assumes that the institutional approach which works at home should work in the same way and equally well in a foreign setting. Hence, if he finds that indigenous structures are not organized in the same way as at home, he believes that there must be some inherent weakness which cannot be corrected without reorganization. What he fails too often to realize is that his assumptions are valid only when shared by the preponderance of the people who operate the institutions. Without this common basis of validity, reorganization becomes a meaningless activity--an end in itself rather than a means to more effective pursuit of the manifest objectives of the structure.

A number of the Vietnamese values findings as well as the observations of writers on Vietnamese society indicate that Vietnamese do not generally share the American belief in orderly change through institutionalized structures. For the Vietnamese, institutions are not autonomous entities which possess interests, responsibilities and principles of their own. Institutions are viewed against the background in which they appear, and it is people and personality which command allegiance. Leaders have followings which can be depended upon for personal

support and loyalty in return for both material and psychological rewards. The rules of the game are designed by and for the player, subject to change with each new set of players, and are not attributes of an impersonal abstraction called an institution. Hence, institutional roles, as devices for providing direction and continuity in spite of shifts in personnel, are little appreciated by the Vietnamese and hence have relatively little impact upon real behavior.

Americans see the Vietnamese approach to leadership and institutions as inherently unstable, for with each shift in leadership, there are likely to be such drastic and arbitrary shifts in objectives, procedures and allocations of resources as to constitute, in effect, a completely new entity. Furthermore, the personalistic quality of the transfer of authority frequently results in purges, rivalries and factionalism which are not only extremely debilitating to the organization itself, but also tend to reduce the willingness of potentially capable Vietnamese to contribute their talents to national leadership.

Of central importance in achieving any long-range goals in Vietnam is the complex task of identifying, modifying where possible and accommodating those aspects of Vietnamese values and behavior which appear to be incompatible with economic and political modernization. This is not to say that Americans should attempt to remake the Vietnamese in their own image; rather it means that certain characteristics of what Hagen refers to as the "innovative personality" must be strengthened and reinforced if the desired development is to take place.<sup>42</sup> In a number of fields of activity, such as economic and governmental affairs, Vietnamese who embody these characteristics and who have the will and the ability to inculcate them in others can be encouraged to assume leadership at all levels. Where the Vietnamese already display the desired value orientations in certain areas of activity, they can, with proper incentives, be encouraged to transfer them to other areas of activity.

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<sup>42</sup> Everett E. Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1962).

### Guidelines for Counterpart Relations

When an American advisor and his Vietnamese counterpart meet, each brings with him a set of attitudes and a set of assumptions concerning their respective roles, the nature of the problems confronting them, and the environment in which they will function. The Vietnamese may be expected to harbor some resentment, perhaps subconscious, merely at having an "advisor," suspecting, with some justification, that the American "advisor" is less an advisor than a monitor. Most Vietnamese are grateful for the assistance the United States has rendered, and almost all recognize the need for the American presence, but this very knowledge drives home the painful fact that they are not yet masters of their own destiny. To a proud and sensitive people, with a bitter history of foreign exploitation, such complete dependence upon a foreign power is a shattering experience. Vietnamese, who find themselves growing ever more dependent upon Americans in their struggle against other Vietnamese, tend to become ambivalent toward them, and the greater and more conspicuous the American presence, the greater the ambivalence. Fear of an Americanization of Vietnam is a further barrier to full and effective cooperation between Americans and many segments of Vietnamese society (i. e., students, intellectuals, traditionalists). The number of Vietnamese girls who have left their families and sometimes their husbands to "follow the Americans" has inevitably had its impact upon the ego of the Vietnamese male. Vietnamese are keenly aware of the difference in pay and living standards between themselves and Americans of comparable position and rank. These feelings are often exacerbated by the sheer physical size of most Americans, by their light complexion (which is desirable in Vietnamese eyes), by the boundless vitality and optimism with which they arrive on the scene and which diminishes only slightly during their relatively brief tours of duty.

The American advisor, on the other hand, brings to the situation quite a different set of perspectives. He comes very much aware of the money, materiel and lives that the United States has spent in the defense of the people of South Vietnam, and much less aware of the physical problems and psychological tensions that the American presence has created for many individual Vietnamese

and for Vietnamese society in general. Because of his high dominance, future and individualistic value orientations and his tendency to believe that people are basically good, he expects to collaborate effectively with GVN officials in achieving shared military, political and economic goals which will justify the sacrifices of the Americans and the suffering of the Vietnamese people. Too often he fails adequately to take into account the lack of peer group and future orientation on the part of the villagers, and the strong authoritarian and harmony orientation of the community and governmental structures within and through which he must work. It is also difficult for him to appreciate fully the corrosive effect of twenty-five years of war and political instability with the resultant disappointments, tragedies and failures which have contributed to and reinforced the strong situational orientation to be found in many Vietnamese, perhaps reflecting simply a struggle for sheer survival in what often appears to be a hopeless situation. His level of expectation may, therefore, be far too high, leading inevitably to disappointment, often to a debilitating sense of frustration, and sometimes to a bitterness which makes his efforts or his mere presence counterproductive.

But no matter how well the American advisor may come to understand Vietnamese in general or his counterpart in particular, a number of real problems inevitably remain. The American and Vietnamese must each be primarily responsive to their own respective chains of command. Whatever may be the personal opinions or inclination of a GVN official or ARVN officer, he must at all times give high priority to winning and maintaining the approval of his superiors in one or more hierarchies.

It is of utmost importance to be aware of the key authority figures to which any Vietnamese with whom one is dealing looks for approval or disapproval, and to determine the relative priorities each of these figures has in influencing his attitudes and behavior. Often, some of the more important authority figures are not shown in any table of organization. For example, in a tightly knit Catholic community the hamlet chief may look to the local priest for his cues, rather than to the village or district chief. A similar situation may exist in a Cao Dai or Hoa Hao community. Similarly, membership in a particular political party may produce a superordinate hierarchy of authoritarian relationships, as in the

National Revolutionary Movement or the Can Lao Party under the Diem/Nhu regime, or the Dai Viet and the Vietnamese Nationalist parties in certain parts of Central Vietnam today. A technical service chief in charge of agriculture or public works, for example, may take his cues from and assign his real priorities according to the particular interests of his superiors in the ministry or directorate in Saigon who will be responsible for his promotion and reassignment, rather than from the province chief or administrative deputy in the province to whom he is nominally responsible. An army officer may consider the approval of an army officer with political connections or family ties in high places to be more important than that of his immediate superiors or other, higher-ranking officers.

It is difficult for Americans to appreciate fully the complex process of decision-making in Vietnamese who have a strong harmony orientation in community/government matters and a strong authority orientation. Even Vietnamese with a relatively strong individualistic tendency must take into account the authoritarian nature of the structure in which they function, and the socially imposed demand for harmony. True feelings are often concealed and the real reasons for action or inaction are seldom revealed. As a result, agreement or concurrence may often be obtained where there is no desire or intention to implement the plan or project about which agreement has been reached. Impersonal plans will seldom overcome the tendency to act for direct and personal reasons in response to pressure from figures of authority in an effort to maintain harmony. Rather than protest an order or suggestion which seems infeasible, a Vietnamese may often quickly agree to avoid an embarrassing discussion, and then simply provide only token support or cooperation. To many Vietnamese this is simply good form, good social etiquette, and has none of the unfavorable connotations of hypocrisy and deceit which Americans tend to associate with this type of behavior. No future action may be taken for granted unless it has been thoroughly integrated into the primary frame of reference of the individual involved, or unless it is personal in nature.

In this situation an American advisor may often be able to utilize the greater freedom inherent in the individualistic orientation prevalent in the U. S. advisory structure to enlist the aid of higher levels in motivating his counterpart.

For example, if one wishes to motivate an agricultural chief to devote more attention or greater resources to a particular project which has been initiated locally with great promise of success, but which is not receiving much attention from the local staff because it is not one of "their" programs, perhaps a senior agricultural advisor could arrange to visit the province in the company of one of the Saigon-based superiors of the local agricultural chief. Through informal discussion prior to and during the trip the senior advisor may be able to arouse the interest of his counterpart in the potential of the local project. If the senior GVN official then evidences interest in the project while in the province, and has a word of praise for the local agriculture chief for his support of such a worthwhile project, in all probability from then on the local staff will be willing to devote more time and resources to the project, since they will then see that such an investment will gain approval from their primary point of reference.

The advisory chain should be utilized to the greatest possible extent to reinforce from above on the Vietnamese side what is being accomplished at the local level. The advisory level may also be helpful in encouraging an upward flow of information and ideas through GVN channels. In some cases, perhaps, even compulsory suggestion plans, with prompt rewards for good suggestions, may be used to encourage lower administrative levels to overcome their traditional reluctance to communicate upwards.

In the innovation of any project at hamlet or village level, the weak future and peer orientation of the villagers must be anticipated. The high situational and achievement orientation of the villagers may be used to good advantage through proper planning. First, a small demonstration of the superiority of the new technique, or machine, or variety of seed or livestock must be made to convince local opinion leaders that it will indeed be profitable to accept the innovation. On the basis of the demonstration the increased profit which any particular individual may expect to gain can be computed and publicized. Then, any long-range goals must be broken down into a number of short-range, easily attainable subgoals, maintaining an awareness on the part of all concerned that the project is currently active and successful. Hendry, Hickey and others provide numerous examples of successful innovation and change where this procedure is followed.

In summary, then, it is important for Americans to be aware of their own values and attitudes and those of the Vietnamese with whom they are working. In the light of this knowledge, realistic goals must be set and every effort must be made to present all ideas and recommendations in terms which are meaningful and relevant within the Vietnamese frame of reference.

## PART II: EVALUATION OF THE TAXONOMY OF CONCERNS

To evaluate the taxonomy of concerns, we ask three questions. Is it valid (i.e., does this instrument actually measure values of different cultures)? Are the results reliable or consistent (over time, over samples)? Is the instrument equivalent in both languages?

This section summarizes results of several kinds of evidence used to evaluate the Taxonomy of Concerns as a valid, reliable, effectively translated instrument.<sup>43</sup> Summaries of this evidence are presented in Table 6. Evaluative procedures and results are reported in greater detail in Appendix C. While our evidence is not exhaustive, it suggests that the Taxonomy of Concerns, although an unrefined instrument, provides a useful approach to the measurement of values across cultures. Evidences for validity, reliability and cross-cultural equivalence are summarized below and discussed in detail in Appendix C.

### Validity

The validity of an instrument can be established by expert consensus or by relating it to a measure of established validity. Since no findings were available from Americans and Vietnamese from any instrument similar to the T/C, our evidences for validity are necessarily indirect.

### Agreement with Other Sources

A number of publications are available on Vietnamese and American cultures. Where our findings from the T/C overlap with those of other observers of the two cultures, T/C results are in general agreement.

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<sup>43</sup> Details of the methodology for data collection, and the rationale underlying the construction of the original Taxonomy of Concerns, may be found in Sternin, et al., op. cit.

Table 6. Summary of Results: Evaluation of the Taxonomy of Concerns  
As an Effective Instrument for the Measurement of Values

	Evaluation	Populations	Summary of Results
VALIDITY	1. Agreement with other observers	American and Vietnamese	The preponderance of results are in agreement with publications by writers on both cultures. A few apparent disconcurrences--such as our findings that writings of experts apply better to older Vietnamese than to the younger generation--lend support to our findings
	2. Subsequent acceptance of the same value items in different format.	Vietnamese only	Preliminary evidence suggests that Vietnamese values positions on several items are essentially the same in 1968 as in 1967; items presented in different format (single statement, agree-disagree scale) elicit the same responses.
	3. Judging values as a part of psyep programs.	Vietnamese only	Preliminary evidence shows Vietnamese panels finding messages consistent with T. C. value orientations more acceptable for psyep use than messages inconsistent with values.
	4. Reproducibility of value orientation categories.	American judges	High reproducibility for both value area and content area; a few items found to be poorly defined.
RELIABILITY	5. Test-retest reliability	Americans only	There appears to be substantial test-retest reliability, but no techniques known for comparison of this reliability with that of conventional instruments.
	6. Split half reliability.	Americans and Vietnamese	High for all tests run.
	7. Cluster homogeneity	Americans and Vietnamese	High for all tests run.
	8. Equal separation between item alternatives in two languages	American and Vietnamese	Separation essentially the same in both languages for most items.
	9. Equivalent forms	American and Vietnamese	Attempts made were not successful.
EFFECTIVENESS OF TRANSLATION	10. Item equivalence in concepts, language	American and Vietnamese	Of 135 statements, 7 rated as serious errors.
	11. Importance of issues to both populations	American and Vietnamese	Most issues judged relevant to both populations.

In comparison with Vietnamese, American value positions indicate characteristics of the protestant ethic discussed by Williams, Myrdal, and even back to De Tocqueville, a moralistic black-white view of good and bad, self-reliance, individualism, dominance over nature, etc. The values inferred from data from Vietnamese tend to correspond with values inferable from writers about Vietnam: Mus, Hickey, Fitzgerald among others. Without exception, value patterns inferable from these writers are more similar to our data from older Vietnamese (40 and over) than data obtained from younger Vietnamese.

#### Items in a Different Format

During the course of more recent work by HSR on the problems of psychological operations, it was possible to resubmit several of the T/C items to a Vietnamese sample, but in a different format. Single-statement items were constructed by combining the stem of the T/C item with one of the alternatives (either one which the Vietnamese had chosen as a value orientation, or one which they had rejected), and these were presented to a small sample of Vietnamese. The subjects were instructed to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement. The results indicate a strong tendency to agree with those items which reflected the Vietnamese value position as originally established by the T/C and to disagree with those items which did not represent that value position.

#### Values in Psyop Programs

One of the ultimate indicators of the validity of any instrument is the meaningfulness of the results in another setting. Evidence of that nature is available for the T/C. In the course of constructing messages for use in psychological operations in Vietnam, some messages were written so as to be specifically in agreement with the Vietnamese value position indicated by the T/C, while others were written to disagree with the Vietnamese value position. A panel of Vietnamese was asked to judge these messages with regard to their adequacy

as psyop messages; they indicated that the messages which agreed with the Vietnamese value position had more relevance in the psyop setting than did the messages which disagreed.

#### Reproducibility of Value Orientation Categories

The items of the T/C are based on an a priori, defined set of five value orientations and three content areas. An important aspect of the validity of the entire instrument is the extent to which these categories (value orientation/content area) can be recovered by examination of the items. To estimate this, four judges were asked to sort the items into their respective categories. In the case of both value orientation and content area, most of the items (more than 90 percent) could be sorted into their "correct" categories. A few items appear to have been not well defined.

#### Reliability

Measures of the consistency of responses to the T/C can be quantified and expressed on a scale with limits of  $\pm 1$ . But because of the three-category response format of the T/C, these numbers are not equivalent to conventional reliability measures. (This is one of several technical problems of working with the T/C which, in aggregate, make the instrument and its individual items difficult to assess, modify and refine.) Several reliability checks are reported below.

#### Test-Retest Reliability

The T/C Form I was administered on two occasions, 3 weeks apart, to the same sample of American University students. The measure of reliability used (the proportion of the sample who picked the same alternative as their first choice on both occasions for each item) indicates that test-retest reliability is fairly high (mean of .705).

### Split-Half Reliability

As a test of whether the differences between the Vietnamese and American values were a function of properties within the samples, the American and Vietnamese samples were both randomly divided into two subsamples and several comparisons among these subsamples were made. When subsamples within the same sample were compared (American-American, Vietnamese-Vietnamese) the distributions of responses were essentially identical for both subsamples. When the samples were compared across cultures (American-Vietnamese), the distributions of responses reflected those found in the total sample comparisons.

### Cluster Homogeneity

In order to estimate whether the three items which made up each of the value orientation/content area categories were (within category) measuring the same thing, the proportion of the respondents who picked the alternative with the same value position as their first choice for each of the pairs of the three items was calculated. The mean proportion for the Americans was .467 and for the Vietnamese, .337. Although no indicators of statistical significance are available for this sort of measure, the means (and, indeed, all but two of the forty-five pairs) are well above the random probability of choosing the same alternative on both items.

### Equivalence of Alternative Separation

In order to determine if the relationship between the alternatives of the items is the same in both language versions of the T/C, bilingual judges were asked to estimate (for each language version separately) the "distance" between the alternatives for each item; i. e., to what degree the items really were seen as separate alternatives. Results indicate that for most of the items, the degree of separation is essentially equivalent for both language versions.

### Effectiveness of Translation

In addition to the more or less standard problems of validity and reliability, an instrument intended for use in more than one language or culture also requires the additional evaluation implied in the necessary equivalence across cultures. These evaluations include both measures of equivalence in language and concepts, as well as (in the case of a study of values) the relevance of the issues to the two cultures.

#### Item Equivalence in Concept and Language

The stem of each item of the T/C was combined with each of the three alternatives (making three single sentence statements from each T/C item). The English and Vietnamese version of each statement were paired, and bilingual judges rated each pair of sentences on the adequacy of translation from Vietnamese to English. Out of 135 pairs of statements, all but 7 were judged to have been adequately translated both as to syntax and word equivalence as well as translation of conceptual meaning.

#### Importance of Issues to Both Populations

Each T/C item (for each language version separately) was rated (by the bilingual judges) on the extent to which the question implied by the item was relevant to the population of which it was asked. Nearly all the items were judged to be relevant.

#### Equivalent Forms of the Taxonomy of Concerns

The analysis described in Part I is based entirely on data collected using the original form (Form I) of the Taxonomy of Concerns. During this research, we tried, unsuccessfully, to expand the original instrument by developing equivalent forms. Two sets of problems are involved: first, problems of semantics and connotations, i.e., to make the forms equivalent in a substantive sense; second, technical or statistical problems of developing satisfactory

measures of equivalence for the ranked answers the T/C instrument yields. Unfortunately, these two sources of problems interact.

Briefly, the following was done. A Form II of the values instrument (45 items) was prepared and administered to the Vietnamese. However, Form II had to be translated hastily, and was administered by a different set of interviewers from those who administered Form I (who had returned to college). Because of other project time requirements, HSR supervisors were not able to supervise administration of the instrument as closely as needed. Tests of equivalence of Forms I and II failed to demonstrate equivalence.

A similar attempt was made to test form equivalence on an American sample. Form III was developed. It contained certain items originally in Form II, drawing heavily on concepts described by Rokeach.<sup>44</sup> The two forms (Form I and Form III) were then administered to 100 American marines. Responses to the two forms (i.e., Forms I and III) exhibited significant differences. Hence, we were not able to demonstrate two equivalent forms of the T/C on either American or Vietnamese populations. Lack of equivalence, at least for the American sample, may be attributable either to the technical problems of developing reliability measures described next, or to content differences between alternative forms.

The technical problems encountered were as follows. Because of the theoretical framework regarding value systems which underlies the structure of the T/C instrument, and because of the type of response elicited (i.e., rank-ordering of alternatives), there were several alternative approaches which could be taken in the equivalence of forms analysis, each supplying somewhat different information.

The usual approach taken in this type of situation is to determine the correlation between individuals' scores on the two forms, using the Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation. In the present case, with rank-order

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<sup>44</sup>Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968).

data, this would be done by assigning a "score" of 3 to the first-ranked alternative, 2 to the second, and 1 to the last, and using these scores to compute the correlation for each response alternative within a set of items. When that technique is applied in the present case, however, some anomalies arise, which cause the usual interpretation of the Pearson  $r$  to be inapplicable. The source of the problem is the low range of variability in the samples--i.e., the tendency for responses to cluster on one alternative for a given item. The Pearson  $r$  must be interpreted in light of the restriction stated by Guilford as follows: "The size of  $r$  is very much dependent upon...the variability of measured values in the sample. The greater the variability, the higher will be the correlation, everything else being equal." <sup>45</sup>

It was necessary, then, due to the low variability present, to find some other method of determining the consistency of response from one form to the other using the T/C data. It is possible to test the difference between the two forms in the number of persons who ranked each response alternative first. If the two forms are eliciting the same responses, we would, assuming the sample populations (of items) are equivalent, expect that such a measure of consistency would produce scores on alternate forms of the T/C that could be shown statistically similar. Significant differences between the two forms, depending on their numbers and absolute sizes raise questions of equivalence. This approach would not tell us whether each individual responded in the same way to both forms, but would give an estimate of the extent to which the entire group (to whom both forms were administered) responded similarly.

A third type of equivalence analysis would compare, for each individual, the first-ranked response to one form with a comparable response to an equivalent item. This could be done either by matching a set of items (triplet of items comprising one content area/value orientation combination) from one form with the comparable set of items on the other; or by regarding the response to a set of items on the first as a criterion and matching the response to a comparable

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<sup>45</sup>J. P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics on Psychology and Education, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), pp. 318-319.

single item on the second form against the criterion. On the assumption that information about each item of T/C Form III was preferable to data on clusters of items, only the second of the above-mentioned analyses was done.

At first glance, the apparently applicable statistic for this analysis would be chi square. Deeper investigation on this point, however, shows the higher absolute values of chi squares (and, of course, their statistical significance) would be produced by either perfect positive or perfect negative correlations between forms. Think of a contingency table as a 3 x 3 scatter diagram. Highest consistency would be represented by all frequencies falling on the upper left to lower right diagonal. A significant chi square would result. However, if all frequencies fall on the lower left to upper right diagonal, a significant chi square will also result, but the relationship would be a perfect negative correlation. With this ambiguity of interpretation, only the proportion of the sample who responded in the same way to the two forms was examined. As indicated above, equivalence was not demonstrated.

#### Summary

The Taxonomy of Concerns has been administered to four separate samples of Americans in addition to the Vietnamese sample. The major results have shown that the T/C clearly and consistently differentiates between Vietnamese and American cultures, in terms of value responses while at the same time discriminating at a more refined level among various American subgroups where differences are not so striking. This characteristic of the T/C--that is, the consistency with which it picks up differences in values--lends credence to the theoretical structure upon which the instrument is based.

However, serious difficulties remain, as evidenced by our data and experience. The format which calls for ratings yields responses that are most awkward to work with in data analysis. While indices (of agreement, etc.) can be generated, we found no way to convert these to traditional statistics. These problems were encountered both in attempting to measure reliability of the instrument, and in the attempt to assess equivalence of forms. Finally, the instrument

is difficult to refine. While the three-response format provides more information than would a two-category format, the technician pays more than the price for this added information when he attempts to revise an item. The three response alternatives are highly interdependent so that a change in one alternative effects the saliency of the other two, often to an unpredictable degree. Because of all these problems, a ranking approach to value areas would appear to be better.

#### Comparison of the Taxonomy of Concerns with the ECHO Method

The problem of studying value differences between cultures has been approached from a number of different viewpoints. During the present work, an attempt was made to compare the data from the T/C to data gathered using General Research's ECHO method for American and Vietnamese populations. This could not be worked out administratively; however, two preliminary reports<sup>46</sup> and a small amount of further data were made available which permit certain comparisons of the two methods.<sup>47</sup> Since the comments below are based on only this limited set of papers, the comparisons are necessarily rough.

#### Assumptions

As is the case with any measuring instrument, both the Taxonomy of Concerns and the ECHO technique are predicated on a number of assumptions. The T/C makes the primary assumption that there are a number of generic universal problems with which every culture must deal. Different cultures, it is

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<sup>46</sup>Richard P. Barthol and R. Gary Bridge, Project ECHO (Santa Barbara, Calif.: General Research Corp., October 1967); and Richard P. Barthol and R. Gary Bridge, "The ECHO Multi-Response Method for Surveying Value and Influence Patterns in Groups" (Santa Barbara, Calif.: General Research Corp., January 1968, Internal Memorandum).

<sup>47</sup>The data available is in summary form only; data at successive steps of processing, which might have made more detailed comparisons possible, were not available.

assumed, may deal with these problems in a different way. Items are developed so that alternative answers reflect different ways cultures may define and respond to these problems. If one accepts these assumptions, the items generated should reflect different ways of responding to these universal problems. One question raised by this assumption of universal problems is whether a specified set of problem areas is comprehensive. How many value patterns are needed to adequately understand a culture? A second problem is that items must be stated at a fairly high level of abstraction; often it is hard to bring responses down to specific issues.

The ECHO technique was developed in an attempt to investigate cross-cultural value differences without assuming "previous knowledge" about cultures as the T/C does. The respondent is given an evaluation, "good" or "bad," and asked to attach a series of topics or actions which carry that evaluation.<sup>48</sup> Hence, this technique could elicit values or attitudes about which the investigator knows nothing. The responses are later classified by (different) indigenous classifiers, under the assumption that indigenous classifiers will be more likely to produce meaningful clusters of responses than would the investigator or someone not intimately familiar with the culture. These clusters, then, are assumed to be indicators of at least a part of the particular culture's value pattern.

While it is not stated, the assumption of the universality of the "good" and "bad" concepts, indivisible as to connotations within these concepts, is inherent in the ECHO method; some cultures, for example, have two distinct concepts of "good" and language terms clearly distinguishing them. Undoubtedly, the response will contain much information about certain kinds of "good" or "bad" acts (values), but clearly some self-filtering occurs which is reflected in the data. The question, at least for the American sample, about "what could you

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<sup>48</sup> "What is a good thing to do?" "What is a bad thing to do?" This technique is not totally untried. Hadley Cantril (The Pattern of Human Concerns. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965) turned the question around and asked: "What good or bad things could happen to you?" in his studies of human concerns.

do that is bad?" becomes, to the respondent, "What, of the things that I could possibly consider doing, is bad?" (An example: out of 695 responses from Stanford students, no one mentioned murder as something "bad" to do.) So here, too, assumptions create some limits on the universality of results.

In both techniques, the assumption is made that the response, whatever it is, is related in some predictable way to the underlying cultural values. This assumption is explicitly a part of the structure of the T/C, since the attempt has been made to define value (as, for example, opposed to attitude) and to structure items accordingly. Since the nature of the task in the ECHO method precludes advance knowledge of the responses, the assumption of the relation of response to value is not specifically defined<sup>49</sup> but it nonetheless operates. This lack of specificity regarding value-response relationship leads to one difficulty of interpretation. Each of the response categories (clusters) is, because of lack of definition, assumed to have equal relation (whatever the relation is) to the underlying value structure. This leads to the conclusion for example (for UCLA students), that "attend cultural events" and "be kind and considerate to others" are equally related to underlying values, without regard to their relative generality. It is not possible to speculate what the results of further aggregation of these response clusters would look like, but some objective relational scheme would appear to be necessary. In any event, it seems unlikely that the result of such aggregation would relate usefully to the Rokeach value concept distinctions<sup>50</sup> on which the T/C has been structured.

In any instrument intended for use to study cross-cultural issues, the assumption is made that, at some point, the versions used in each culture will be comparable. Unless bilingual (or more precisely, bicultural) interpreters are consistently available, at some point a judgment must be made of the translatability of concepts. In the T/C the instrument itself is produced in two

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<sup>49</sup>The terms "value" and "attitude" are used interchangeably in the ECHO reports.

<sup>50</sup>Milton Rokeach, "A Theory of Organization and Change Within Value-Attitude Systems," Journal of Social Issues, XXIV, no. 1 (1968), 13-33.

different languages (details of the evaluation of the success of this aspect of the study are available in Appendix C). Once the data are gathered, it is assumed that the two versions of the instrument are equivalent and comparisons between cultures can be made directly.

As a result of the particular approach of the ECHO method, the instrument and responses evolve separately within each culture. It is not strictly true, however, that no cross-cultural equivalence is necessary at the data gathering stage. At least the instruction must be made equivalent, and, more importantly, the concepts of "good" and "bad" acts must be (or are assumed to be) equivalent in both cultures.

Even though the ECHO technique attempts to allow the values responses to evolve spontaneously within the culture, at some point the aggregated categories and concepts from each culture must be compared. This implies at least the translation of those categories in language A to language B, or both to language C. It would also seem to require some method of organizing the categories (as classified by the indigenous classifiers) into some structure meaningful across the cultures. So, although the problems inherent in translatability are for the most part encountered later in the aggregation of data in the ECHO method, both techniques must eventually provide a comparable structure for cross-cultural analysis.

### Results and Methodology

While the T/C and the ECHO method generate data in vastly different forms, there are some points at which the two appear to be tapping the same information. The question "What can I do that's good or bad?" implies motivation of activity and, indeed, when the ECHO data on several American college populations is examined, it can be seen that many of the most frequently occurring categories of response reflect the achievement orientation of Americans found with the T/C (e.g., "get a good job" "add to the welfare of society"). Secondary emphasis on the expressive and inner-development orientations, as shown with the T/C, are also reflected in the ECHO data (e.g., "self improvement and self reliability").

In addition to the question about good and bad activities, the ECHO technique asks the additional question, "Who would approve or disapprove?" Responses to this question are directly comparable to the T/C Relational category. The ECHO results, for example, indicate that American college students rely on the "self" for approval, which is compatible with the T/C finding of highly individualistic value orientation among the American subjects. In the ECHO study of Cuban refugees, the female subjects looked more towards the "parents" for approval, indicating (in T/C terms) a more formalistic relational value orientation, also found by HSR among younger Vietnamese, especially females.

Thus, it is possible to compare some of the more frequent responses to the ECHO values questions with our findings for Americans. The implicit suggestion of "activity" in the ECHO question, "What is something you can do that is good or bad?" limits comparison to the T/C value area dealing with activity. There are, of course, other aspects of the T/C structure which could be comparable given some modification in the exact wording of the stimulus question.<sup>51</sup>

Even with data which appears to be roughly comparable, valuable conclusions cannot be reached without essentially equivalent indicators of validity and reliability.<sup>52</sup> Both techniques produce results which are supported by anecdotal evidence (face validity) presented by a number of experts on the particular cultures studied. The ECHO methodology provides a further test of validity in what are termed message sessions. The values responses were used to generate (again, by people indigenous to the culture) a series of message sets for the culture studied as well as another culture. These messages were re-submitted to samples of the subject population which showed strong preference for the message sets constructed from their values responses. The results of this message technique for the study of validity are similar to validity evidence gathered in Vietnam on the values concepts from the T/C. When, for example, psyop messages are used which are consistent with the value orientations found

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<sup>51</sup>It is difficult to determine, however, how information, for example, value orientations about time could be obtained using the ECHO technique.

<sup>52</sup>See Appendix C for details on these matters for the T/C.

to be more acceptable to the "subject" population than messages not consistent with cultural values.

In addition to measures of validity, indicators of reliability are also necessary before any meaningful cross-cultural comparisons can be made. The ECHO technique, at least as represented by the documents available to date, has not reached the point of cross-cultural comparison where reliability estimates can be made for the values responses. (Reliability for the classification procedures has been checked for ECHO, but there are no comparable stages of reliability analyses for the T/C.)

### Conclusion

The T/C uses a deductive method to postulate values, items inferred from values and item alternatives. It is certainly probable that there are other important values, other than those postulated, and that meaningful and relevant alternatives are excluded. It cannot, as a rule, be expected to shed much insight into immediate issues of the moment. And if its assumption set is limited and exclusive, the basis for cross-cultural comparisons is built in. The three-response-category items create many problems when one tries to submit this instrument and its responses to the usual methodological checks. Problems of pretesting and refinement constitute a methodological nightmare.

The ECHO Method appears to start by making no assumptions--the cumulated responses determine the cultural tenor. As noted, however, certain important assumptions are built into its sparse questions. It is more flexible, more quickly adopted to current and topical concerns than is the T/C. (Yet we find what the T/C reveals about certain areas, concept of time, for example, relevant, insightful and adaptable to current problems.) There are questions as to whether responses to the ECHO Method in raw or integrated form "are really values." Finally, while the method appears to avoid assumptions in the beginning, if cultures are to be compared, it must deal with the same problems during integration of data that the T/C does by its initial assumptions.

Both approaches are in the early stages of development. As they are further refined, more points of comparison may be available (which are, in a sense, further estimates of validity for both). It is also likely that the techniques will become increasingly complementary. It may be useful, for example, to use an ECHO approach to generate or validate values orientation categories for the T/C. The information developed in the area of cross-cultural equivalence of instruments may, on the other hand, be useful when that stage is reached in the ECHO research.

APPENDIX A

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VALUE ORIENTATIONS  
AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

## APPENDIX A

### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

#### A. Vietnamese Sample

The value orientations of the Vietnamese were compared with a number of different demographic characteristics in order to identify significant value shifts that occurred in association with selected demographic data. Three of the most important characteristics--age, education, and sex--are described below.

The younger Vietnamese age group showed decidedly different patterns than the older groups, and the differences are along the lines one might expect. With respect to the Man-Nature value area, the young tended to be more frequently dominance oriented and less frequently submission and harmony oriented, while the old tended to be more commonly submission and harmony oriented and rarely dominance oriented. In the Time area, the young seemed to be less frequently tradition oriented and the old more commonly so. There was a slight tendency for the young to be more often situationally oriented than the old. In the Activity area the achievement motivation seemed more associated with the old than with the young, who tended to be more expressive oriented. In the Relational area, the young appeared less formalistic oriented than the old.

Education was next in importance to age in association with differences in value orientations. In the Man-Nature area, the less educated tended more often to be submission and harmony oriented while the more educated tended more often to be dominance oriented. In the Time area, the less educated were more likely to be tradition oriented, while the better educated seemed more situation oriented. In the Relational area, the less well educated were more often formalistic while the better educated seemed to be more often individualistic.

Sex appeared to make a difference in two areas. Males tended to be more often dominant in the Man-Nature area and more often situation and goal oriented in the Time area. Females, on the other hand, appeared to be more

often submissive and harmony oriented in the Man-Nature area and tradition oriented in Time.

#### B. American Sample

Several American value orientation shifts occurred in the presence of demographic characteristics, the most important of these being associated, at the .01 level or higher, with age, education and to a lesser extent race.

The younger, less well educated portion of the sample tended to view the basic nature of man as either good or evil as compared to the older group which saw it either as mixture or predominantly good. The younger and less educated were considerably more achievement oriented than were their elders, and more of them valued the peer orientation; the older, better educated respondents were more frequently individualistic.

Some interesting shifts occur in the American sample when these responses are broken down by content area. In the Human Nature area, although the predominant orientation remained the mixture of good and evil, the younger the respondent the more likely he was to choose the mixture orientation in economics and business (in the less than 20 year old category, the sample split between the good or the evil orientation). The older the respondent, the less the evil orientation was selected and the greater the concentration on the good alternative.

In the Activity area in economics and business, the orientation preferred by the youngest group was achievement; by the 20-29 year old group, expressive; and by the 30 year olds and older, inner-development.

Age also is associated with a shift in the Relational area, both in personal and social activities and in the area as a whole. The younger respondents were considerably more peer oriented than were the older respondents, and by the same token, there was a significant increase in the percentage of the respondents valuing the individualistic orientation as age increased.

The level of education of the respondents was also associated with shifts in orientation in four of the five value areas. In the Human Nature area in government and community, those with more education were likely to judge the moral nature of man as basically good. This decreased as level of education decreased. On the other hand, those with little education chose the evil alternative more often than did those with more schooling.

In the Time area in personal and social affairs, there was a definite increase among those with more education in the proportion of the sample selecting the situational orientation. Those with less education were more future oriented than the better educated.

Less education was also associated with a higher achievement motivation in economics and business in the Activity area. As education increased there was a greater emphasis on the expressive and inner-development orientations. The high achievement motivation among the less educated supports the earlier finding that the younger were found to be more achievement oriented than their elders.

In the Relational area in both personal/social and government/community activities, the lower the level of educational background the higher the peer orientation, and vice versa, the more education the greater the individualistic orientation. This finding is again supported by the findings for age where the youngest were more peer oriented than their individualistically motivated elders.

Some indication as to the ability of the Taxonomy of Concerns to detect value variations in subcultural groups may be evident in the comparison of value variations by race. In the Time area in personal and social, whites were considerably more situational oriented than were Negroes, who had a higher percentage in the goal-oriented category. In government and community affairs in the Relational area, Negroes were less individualistic, more peer oriented and more formalistic than their white counterparts.

Of the 120 possible comparisons on value orientations for the four American groups included in our present sample, only seventeen were different at a statistically significant level (.001). Of these, ten were the result of variations in the frequency of response by each group rather than of any variation in the

rank ordering of the alternatives. Of the remaining seven, six involved the Human Nature orientations, and only one of these involved a complete reversal of alternatives. In the Fort Gordon-AID comparison, Fort Gordon ranked evil above good in Human Nature Economics and Business; AID ranked good above evil. In the other five cases, there were shifts between the good and mixture orientations which resulted in no real substantive change. Had the shifts been between good and evil, the implications would have assumed a greater importance.

The only other significant shift involved the Marines and the AID group in the Activity orientation in economics and business. The AID group ranked the inner development orientation first, followed by expressive and achievement. The Marines tied achievement and expressive and put the inner development orientation last in priority.

APPENDIX B

DISTRIBUTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES:  
AMERICAN SAMPLE

APPENDIX B  
DISTRIBUTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES:  
AMERICAN SAMPLE

Demographic Characteristic	Total Sample N = 398	AID N = 126	Fort Gordon N = 98	University of Maryland N = 57	Marines N = 117
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	97.0%	99.0%	100.0%	81.0%	100.0%
Female	03.0	01.0	0.0	18.0	0.0
<u>Age</u>					
19 or younger	17.3	0.0	1.0	0.0	58.1
20-29	48.5	43.7	65.3	43.9	41.9
30-44	27.6	42.9	29.6	47.4	0.0
45 or older	6.0	12.7	4.1	7.0	0.0
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant	47.3	48.4	58.2	47.4	70.9
Roman Catholic	22.9	17.5	26.5	17.5	28.2
Jewish	1.8	4.0	1.0	1.8	0.0
Other	13.8	20.7	13.2	26.3	0.1
<u>Race</u>					
Caucasian	83.2	91.3	86.7	87.7	69.2
Negroid	9.0	1.6	7.1	1.8	22.2
Other	1.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
<u>Place called home*</u>					
Northeast	50.8	48.4	43.9	57.9	55.5
South	25.9	14.3	25.5	22.8	40.2
Northwest	7.3	11.9	9.2	8.8	0.0
Southwest	11.8	21.4	18.4	3.5	0.0
Other	1.8	2.4	0.0	5.3	0.0

\* These regions were arbitrarily set so that the Northeast included the industrial area east of the Mississippi River south to the Ohio River and bounded by Washington, D. C., on the south. The South included that region east of Texas to the Atlantic and bordered by the Ohio River in the north. The Northwest comprised the area west of the Mississippi River, through the Rocky Mountain states of Colorado and Wyoming across the southern border of Idaho and Oregon. The Southwest consisted of Texas and Oklahoma on the east to Nevada and California on the west.

Demographic Characteristic	Total Sample N = 398	AID N = 126	Fort Gordon N = 98	University of Maryland N = 57	Marines N = 117
<u>Urban or Rural Home</u>					
Urban	66.8	76.2	79.6	73.7	42.7
Rural	26.3	21.4	18.4	17.5	41.9
<u>Highest Level of Education</u>					
High school or less	26.6	3.2	6.1	0.0	82.1
1-4 yrs. college	44.5	55.6	66.3	38.6	17.1
Graduate school	28.1	40.5	27.6	59.6	0.0
<u>Total Time Abroad</u>					
None	41.7	7.9	28.6	47.4	86.3
3 months or less	8.3	7.1	15.3	3.5	6.0
3 months-1 year	7.8	6.3	15.3	12.3	0.1
1-3 years	18.8	37.3	17.3	14.0	0.3
3 years or more	20.9	38.9	21.4	19.3	0.2
<u>Area Where Most Time Spent (of those who had been abroad)</u> (n = 211)	(n = 211)	(n = 112)	(n = 68)	(n = 28)	(n = 13)
Europe, Canada, Australia, South Africa	43.1	27.7	47.1	67.9	69.2
Other (under-developed countries)	61.6	72.3	52.9	32.1	30.8

Demographic Characteristic	Total Sample N = 398	AID N = 126	Fort Gordon N = 98	University of Maryland N = 57	Marines N = 117
<u>Longest Time Abroad With Whom</u> (of those who had been abroad) n = 211	(n = 211)	(n = 112)	(n = 68)	(n = 28)	(n = 13)
Government	18.4	32.1	1.5	7.1	0.0
Business	0.9	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Military	41.5	32.5	63.2	25.0	0.0
Peace Corps	11.8	19.7	1.5	3.6	0.0
Private	31.1	12.5	33.8	60.7	92.3
Other	0.9	0.0		3.6	7.7
<u>Total Time in Military</u>					
None	22.9	27.8	0.0	78.9	0.0
2 years or less	51.0	27.8	50.0	3.5	100.0
2-5 years	9.5	21.4	9.2	3.5	0.0
5 years or more	16.6	17.5	39.8	8.8	0.0

Note: Percentages do not always sum to 100% since the no response category has been omitted.

APPENDIX C

METHODOLOGY

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APPENDIX C  
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The following section presents in detail the steps taken to evaluate the Taxonomy of Concerns as a reliable instrument for measuring the values of differing cultural groups. These were summarized in the first section of Part II of this report. Ideally, the analytical techniques described below should have been conducted before field use. However, to accomplish such a task would have required far more intensive investigation than time permitted before substantive findings would have become available. Because of the dearth of information on Vietnamese values as well as the immediate requirement for such data in psychological operations in Vietnam, an existing instrument was adapted and elaborations were made as the project progressed.

The Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck approach<sup>1</sup> and our subsequent modification of it<sup>2</sup> represent attempts to measure cross-cultural differences in terms of a standard set of concepts and format. The methodology for establishing the validity and reliability of instruments in a cross-cultural setting is not well documented. As soon as the culture as a concept becomes the focus of measurement (as it must in cross-cultural research), obvious questions of validity are raised. Do the differences which are documented experimentally represent true differences in cultures or only differences in cultural interpretation of the instrument? Campbell<sup>3</sup> has pointed out that there is a strong tendency toward ethnocentrism in devising any instrument, and this ethnocentrism is central to the entire question

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<sup>1</sup>Florence R. Kluckhohn and F. L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row-Peterson, 1961).

<sup>2</sup>Martin Sternin, Robert J. Teare, and Peter G. Nordlie. A Study of Values, Communication Patterns, and Demography of Rural South Vietnamese (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., February 1968).

<sup>3</sup>D. T. Campbell, "A Cooperative Multinational Opinion Sample Exchange," Journal of Social Issues, XXIV, No. 2 (1968), 245-256.

of validity. A statistical technique for establishing the equivalence of measures of cross-national instruments has been suggested by Przeworski and Teune,<sup>4</sup> but the application of these statistics requires restrictions (on the types of items) which were not applicable to the modification of the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck approach used here.

Since there are no clearcut criteria for establishing formal validity and reliability in an experimental cross-cultural setting, the Taxonomy of Concerns will be examined here from a number of viewpoints with the intention of establishing, perhaps informally, the validity of the data presented in the first part of this report. Ideally, any psychometric instrument must meet certain criteria before anything can be said regarding results of administration. Many of the criteria are requirements for tests in general, but the cross-cultural aspects of this particular approach add still others.

The problem of empirical validity, already mentioned, is central to the usefulness of any instrument. To what extent does the instrument measure in fact what it purports to measure? The best estimate of validity lies in a comparison of the results of the instrument with some external criterion which is known to measure the same variables. A high correlation between the instrument results and the external criterion is excellent evidence of validity. Unfortunately, there are no outside criterion variables which are known to measure value orientations for the populations used in the current study. Therefore, it is not possible to directly measure validity in this way.

Lindzey and Borgatta<sup>5</sup> have remarked that, in the area of cross-cultural research where the primary goal is to obtain new information, a far more reasonable question than that of whether a test "actually" measures the variables it sets

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<sup>4</sup>A. Przeworski and H. Teune, "Equivalence in Cross-National Research," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX, No. 4 (1966-1967), 551-569; based on work by G. A. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

<sup>5</sup>G. Lindzey and E. F. Borgatta, "Sociometric Measurement," in G. Lindzey (ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. I. (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954), pp. 405-448.

out to measure is the more general question of the extent to which it provides information or relates to significant independent measures that are of interest to the investigator. One indicator of validity of the instrument, then, is the relationship between the findings and the observations made of students of the Vietnamese culture in the past, as well as in current ongoing work in Vietnam. This indirect measure of the extent to which the instrument appears to measure the intended variables (face validity) can be misleading and must be employed with some caution, but it is a useful tool for at least estimating whether the game being played on a baseball diamond is indeed baseball.

Additional support for the validity of the instrument can be obtained from an examination of the consistency of results, or its reliability. The concept of consistency can be approached from several different directions, all of which are direct or indirect measures of the instrument's reliability. If the same instrument is administered to the same population at two different points in time, then a measure of consistency over time (test-retest) reliability is obtained. Further, any given instrument is only a small sample of the possible universe of items; a comparison of the results of two such samples (parallel form reliability) is another measure of the instrument's consistency. Both sorts of reliability are necessary before generalizations can be drawn from the results of the instrument. The measure of the similarity of responses of random halves of the whole instrument (split-half reliability) is yet another indicator of the instrument's consistency. Further, the interrelationship among the items on a single instrument which are intended to measure the same thing (item homogeneity) is a within-test reliability estimate which, like split-half reliability, is related to parallel form reliability.

The question of what constitutes acceptable levels of reliability is not entirely settled in this context. There exist guidelines and even statistical tests, but their interpretation should be mediated by a number of factors surrounding the instrument, its stage of refinement, the use to which its results are to be put, the generalizations which are, or are not, going to be made from it. The primary consideration here is that some estimate of reliability be made as a baseline toward improving reliability in future refinements.

In addition to the requirements which must be met by tests of any sort, an instrument used in a cross-cultural study must also meet several criteria of effective translation. This involves not only translation in a linguistic sense (which itself may be difficult since apparently equivalent words may differ in meaning across cultures, and the relative meaning of the syntactical structure may also differ), but translation in a perceptual sense as well. (Do concepts which can be linguistically translated really have the same meaning in both cultures? Or, are differences in meanings, connotations, the features we wish to measure?) This problem is particularly complicated in an instrument like the T/C, since perceptual translation is inevitably in interaction with the very value differences the instrument is trying to measure.

During the course of the work on the T/C several efforts were made to improve the basic instrument, both by increasing its size (and thereby, if the additional items were equivalent, increasing its reliability), and by further refining the theoretical premises on which it was based. These two efforts occasionally worked against each other, but the course toward improving the instrument was set.

The specific methodology and the results of each of these evaluative measures is detailed in the following pages. In many cases there are no standard guidelines for the "success" of these evaluations, but all are a necessary adjunct to the instrument refinement process.

### Validity

#### Agreement with Other Observers

At the early stages of development of any instrument, frequently the only external evidence of validity that is available is correspondence of results with observations made by "experts" on the subject (in this case, culture) being studied. Strictly, this face validity cannot of itself establish the validity of the instrument;

but where it exists, it serves at least the function of indicating if the instrument is generating any gross misinterpretations of the culture.

The extent to which the results of this study agree with those of expert observers of Vietnam is detailed in Part I of this report. Most of the implications of the results appear to be in agreement with the writings of Pye, Mus, Hickey, et al. It should be noted that none of these authors has commented on all of the areas covered by the T/C.

There is some evidence, in the comparison of T/C results to expert observations, that some shifts in value orientation are occurring within the cultures under study. For example, current writings of experts appear to relate more closely to the older Vietnamese rather than the younger generation. The results of the T/C show varying value positions for the older and younger generation, and the extent of agreement of the observers of the culture with one of these positions (the older) lends some evidence of face validity to the distinction found between the two generations.

#### Items in a Different Format

As a corollary to some subsequent research in psychological operations problems in Vietnam, an opportunity arose to further test the validity of the results of the Taxonomy of Concerns. Only preliminary evidence is available at this writing, but the results are notable.

A number of T/C item stems were selected, and made into single sentence statements by combining the stem with one of the alternatives. These single statements were presented to a sample of Vietnamese who were asked to rate (on a five-point scale) the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement. It was found, generally, that those items consisting of the stem and an alternative which had been selected consistently by the Vietnamese sample as their value position in the T/C were significantly more likely to be "agreeable" to this second population.

These results bear on two facets of the validity problem for the T/C. First it is important to note that the results of this preliminary study indicate that essentially the same values data has been obtained using two quite different formats. Secondly, since the two sets of data were collected more than a year apart and from samples from different areas and with different socio-demographic characteristics, there is a strong indication that in Vietnam there is stability in the value orientations and a broad culture-base represented in the data.

#### Values in Psyop Programs

As a part of the same psyop studies mentioned above, it has been possible to obtain information on the acceptability of values information in psyop messages. A number of psyop messages were constructed which were subsequently to be evaluated by a panel of Vietnamese judges as to their positive or negative value as part of the psyop program. Some of the messages were constructed so as to be in agreement with the Vietnamese value orientation as suggested by the T/C results; others were constructed so as to be in disagreement with Vietnamese values. It was found that those messages which agreed with the T/C Vietnamese value orientations were more likely to be judged to have positive value for the psyop program than those messages which did not agree with Vietnamese values.

Since the ultimate goal of any cross-cultural study is the further understanding of the cultures involved, the indication of validity of the T/C value orientation positions in a new setting in the culture is an important measure of the validity of the T/C itself.

#### Reproducibility of Value Orientation Categories

HSR has defined fifteen content area/value orientation concepts which are represented by the items constructed for Form I. It was thought that some independent estimate was needed to determine if the items do indeed relate reliably to the content area of value orientation they were intended to

represent. In an attempt to provide an independent estimate of at least the face validity of the items used in Form I, four of the professional staff at HSR (who are generally familiar with social scientific concepts, but completely unfamiliar with this project) were provided with definitions of these content area/value orientations and then asked to sort the items into their respective content area/value orientation slot. The sorting was done sequentially, by content area first, in an attempt to minimize the error due to an excessive number of categories. The sorting into content area was done on the basis of the stem of the item only, since it was the setting defined in the stem which originally determined the content area classification. (Provision was made to place items into "in between" content areas but these "in between" categories were not used systematically and did not affect the general outcome.)

The entire item was subsequently used in the sorting into value classifications. The task required placing the item into one of the five categories with the added provision that each category was to contain nine items (to minimize the tendency for any one category to become the "catch-all").

The results of the task for content area showed apparently reliable sorting. Average agreement among HSR judges was 75 Percent, and the modal response agreement to the original classification was 71 percent. A close examination of the items making up the 29 percent error suggests that in 7 percent of these items the judges' opinion (unanimous in all cases) is inherently reasonable and the items were indeed misclassified as to content area. The inclusion of these items as "correctly" classified results in 91 percent agreement with the classification as originally specified.

In the sorting for value orientation, a similarly reliable sorting occurred. Agreement among judges was lower than in content area sorting (averaging 49 percent) but the agreement of the modal judgment with previous classifications was 91 percent. Furthermore, all of the items for which a discrepancy exists (4) could reasonably be misclassified as were some of the content area items.

These data are by no means completely rigorous and the numbers can only reflect general trends. It would seem, however, that at least internally<sup>6</sup> the present system of classifying the items of Form I has some validity.

### Reliability

#### Test-Retest Reliability of Form I

The reliability of an instrument over time, i. e., the extent to which it yields comparable results when used on different occasions, is an important characteristic. In order to measure this test-retest reliability for the T/C, the instrument was administered twice, about three weeks apart, to a single sample of students at the University of Maryland. The measure of reliability used, since no overall test score was available, was the proportion of the sample who made the same first choice on each item on the successive administrations of the instrument (the conventional test-retest measure), but rather a measure of reliability for each item making up the instrument.

Table 1 shows the proportion of the sample who answered consistently across the two administrations on each item. These proportions range from a low of .414 to a high of .931. The mean proportion was .705. More than half of the items fell between .60 and .80, with 10 falling below .60 and 8 above .80. Since this measure reflects individual item reliability, there are no guidelines for interpreting these figures in terms of acceptable levels of consistency, nor is there any apparent conversion from these data to a more standard expression of reliability. The order of magnitude of mean proportions associated with clusters of 3 items (in a content area by value orientation cell) appears to be at an acceptable level, although higher reliability is always a desired objective.

Table 1. Test-Retest Reliability of T/C-I

Proportion of sample making the same first choice on successive administrations

(n = 29)

	Human Nature		Man-Nature		Time		Activity		Relational	
	1	.862	7	.793	13	.586	4	.724	10	.552
Economics & Business	16	.483	22	.759	28	.759	19	.517	25	.655
	31	.793	37	.793	43	.724	34	.586	40	.828
(.694)	$\bar{p}$	.713	$\bar{p}$	.782	$\bar{p}$	.690	$\bar{p}$	.609	$\bar{p}$	.678
Personal & Social	6	.828	12	.517	3	.793	9	.793	15	.724
	21	.621	27	.655	18	.862	24	.621	30	.793
	36	.828	42	.552	33	.931	39	.793	45	.897
(.747)	$\bar{p}$	.759	$\bar{p}$	.575	$\bar{p}$	.862	$\bar{p}$	.736	$\bar{p}$	.805
Community & Government	11	.793	2	.724	8	.655	14	.690	5	.793
	26	.724	17	.414	23	.690	29	.655	20	.897
	41	.448	32	.586	38	.724	44	.621	35	.690
(.674)	$\bar{p}$	.655	$\bar{p}$	.575	$\bar{p}$	.690	$\bar{p}$	.655	$\bar{p}$	.793
Total	M	.709	M	.644	M	.747	M	.667	M	.759

Frequency Distribution

Range	f
.40-.49	3
.50-.59	7
.60-.69	10
.70-.79	17
.80-.89	7
.90-.99	1

Overall mean proportion = .705

### Split-Half Reliability

Whenever an instrument such as the Taxonomy of Concerns produces results which appear to define substantial differences between population samples, it is necessary to ask whether these apparent differences might not have occurred artifactually, as a result of inadvertent sampling anomaly. In the absence of the facility for repeated sampling, it is possible to test for sampling bias by comparing randomly selected subsamples of the samples on which the findings are based.

The split-sample analysis to be reported here took two basic forms. In one form, each national sample was randomly divided into two equal-size groups and the two random halves of each national sample were compared with each other. Thus, responses of one half of the Vietnamese sample were compared with the responses of the other half; a similar comparison was made for the American sample (Foreign Service Institute students in the Vietnam Training Program). Should the two halves of each sample produce no significant differences, the extent to which valid results of full-sample between-groups comparisons could be assumed would be increased. Should it happen that the random halves produce consistent significant differences of the same order of magnitude as those between national groups, however, some anomaly in the sampling would be suspect and the validity of the findings of differences between national groups would be in doubt.

Another approach is to subdivide the national samples into random halves, this time comparing one half of the Vietnamese sample against one half of the American sample. Comparisons of this nature should result in differences between the two subsamples which correlate highly with the differences between the full samples. Again, if this does not occur, some doubt is cast upon the full sample findings.

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Table 2 shows the results of chi-square tests of the differences between a number of population subgroups. By column, these statistics indicate comparisons between:

- I. The total Vietnamese sample and the total American sample;
- II. One random half of the Vietnamese sample versus one random half of the American sample;
- III. The second random halves of the Vietnamese and American;
- IV. The two random halves of the Vietnamese sample;
- V. The two random halves of the American sample.

The figures on which these chi squares and p-values (probability associated with that chi square) are based on the frequencies with which each individual responded with the same first choice to three items within a content area cluster. If an individual chose the same response alternative on at least two of the three items, he was categorized as having the value orientation corresponding to that alternative. If he made a different first choice each time, he was categorized as "variable." And if he was unable to make a single first choice (i.e., if he tied two items for first choice) on two or more items he was classed as "Uncommitted." A sample chi-square table is presented in Table 3.

It is apparent from Table 2 that all comparisons based on the full samples (Column I) show statistically significant differences (where  $p < .05$ ). Comparing the first pair of random subsamples from these two groups (Column II) results in 17 of 20 comparisons yielding significant differences, while the second pair of random subsamples (Column III) shows 18 of 20 with significant differences, thus suggesting that the random subsamples yield essentially identical results to the full samples. Although chi-square values are reduced in magnitude in Columns II and III, as would be expected with reduced N's, the correlations between Columns I and II, and I and III are +.998 and +.949, respectively.

Table 2. Chi-Squares and Their Probability Values Obtained from Several Inter- and Intra-Group Comparisons Using the Taxonomy of Concerns, Form I

	Vietnamese & American Total Sample I	Vietnamese & American Subsample <sub>1</sub> II	Vietnamese & American Subsample <sub>2</sub> III	Vietnamese vs. Vietnamese Subsample IV	FSI Subsample vs. FSI Subsample V
	$\chi^2$ p<	$\chi^2$ p<	$\chi^2$ p<	$\chi^2$ p<	$\chi^2$ p<
<b>HUMAN NATURE</b>					
Economics & Business	9.725 .05*	1.781 .70	6.383 .10	2.206 .70	0.991 .90
Personal & Social	53.397 .001*	33.439 .001*	22.527 .001*	4.593 .30	0.677 .80
Community & Government	38.194 .001*	15.477 .01*	21.999 .001*	1.381 .80	4.096 .30
Total	35.231 .001*	14.740 .01*	18.858 .001*	2.257 .70	3.886 .20
<b>MAN-NATURE</b>					
Economics & Business	46.667 .001*	31.844 .001*	38.499 .001*	0.739 .70	0.358 .70
Personal & Social	32.521 .001*	15.446 .01*	21.330 .001*	1.040 .60	1.202 .80
Community & Government	46.204 .001*	22.438 .001*	31.740 .001*	9.737 .05*	1.836 .70
Total	72.627 .001*	41.174 .001*	33.080 .001*	3.192 .30	2.846 .30
<b>TIME</b>					
Economics & Business	78.243 .001*	37.187 .001*	38.709 .001*	1.279 .80	0.498 .80
Personal & Social	83.613 .001*	36.055 .001*	47.896 .001*	4.840 .20	1.026 .70
Community & Government	60.579 .001*	31.010 .001*	25.100 .001*	5.241 .20	1.181 .80
Total	74.577 .001*	40.868 .001*	39.472 .001*	3.207 .50	1.379 .50
<b>ACTIVITY</b>					
Economics & Business	105.649 .001*	39.456 .001*	64.948 .001*	3.344 .50	4.494 .30
Personal & Social	9.632 .05*	1.924 .70	7.249 .10	1.797 .70	0.979 .90
Community & Government	43.440 .001*	16.057 .01*	24.548 .001*	7.382 .10	4.127 .30
Total	20.622 .001*	5.515 .20	14.957 .01*	0.235 .98	3.488 .50
<b>RELATIONAL</b>					
Economics & Business	40.231 .001*	15.285 .01*	22.321 .001*	0.340 .98	1.661 .70
Personal & Social	100.211 .001*	51.683 .001*	54.842 .001*	6.566 .10	2.288 .50
Community & Government	121.436 .001*	69.468 .001*	52.317 .001*	1.252 .80	5.659 .20
Total	20.622 .001*	60.496 .001*	65.198 .001*	2.407 .50	0.921 .70

\*Regarded as statistically significant.

Table 3 . A Sample Chi Square Table of the Type  
Used to Generate the Values in Figure 1

Orientation: Human Nature  
 Content Area: Economics and Business

X Group = Vietnam Sample No. 1 (n = 60)

Y Group = Vietnam Sample No. 2 (n = 60)

A = Good B = Mixed C = Evil

	X	Y	Total
A	18	16	34
B	24	20	44
C	3	7	10
Unc. *	0	0	0
Var.	15	17	32
Total	60	60	120

chi square = 2.206  
 df = 3  
 p < .70

\* Any category with no observed frequencies was eliminated and the number of degrees of freedom reduced by one.

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Columns IV and V likewise show encouraging results. The comparison between random halves of the Vietnam sample produced only one statistically significant difference, that between halves of the FSI sample showed no significant differences. Thus it may be assumed that the inter-national differences are valid insofar as they do not reflect anomalies of intra-national responses.

#### Cluster Homogeneity

The term "item analysis" is ordinarily used in the psychometric literature to describe one of two things: a determination of the correlation between a test item and an external criterion (e. g. , a measure of success); or the correlation between a test item and the total test. Since no external criteria are available

and since there is no total test "score" the conventional item analysis techniques cannot be applied to the T/C. The decision was reached that the most useful kind of information to be obtained in the present case would be a measure of the extent to which items in the same "cluster" or "triplet," as defined by the value orientation and content area it was designed to measure, were all capable of eliciting the same response. The item analysis of the T/C instrument, then, takes the form of measuring the homogeneity within item clusters.

Due to difficulties encountered in applying the standard correlational measures to rank-ordered responses covering a very narrow range, the measures of item homogeneity to be presented here take the form of proportions, specifically the proportion of the sample who gave the same response to pairs of items within each triplet of items. Table 4 presents these proportions for both the Vietnamese sample (n = 120) and an American sample (n = 98) consisting of personnel being trained in the Civil Affairs School at Fort Gordon, Georgia. These proportions represent first choice data only (the same data used to generate Figures 2 to 6 in Part I).

It can be seen that both the range of values and the mean value for the Vietnamese group are lower than those for the American sample. A low level of homogeneity indicates that at least one item in the triplet does not measure the same thing as the others. Overall, the homogeneity of the Vietnamese Form I of the T/C instrument is somewhat lower than desired, while the English language version fares better, and yields considerably higher levels of homogeneity. Since this is not a conventional item analysis, specific interpretive guidelines as to what is "acceptable" homogeneity are not available. However, as a measure against which these results may be compared, the probability that, on any pair of items, the same alternative would be chosen for both items is .110 (the probability of choosing alternative A for Item X [.333] times the probability of choosing alternative A for Item 1 [.333]).

Table 4. Proportion of Sample Giving the Same First Choice on Pairs of Items  
 Vietnam n = 120  
 American n = 98

	Human Nature		Man-Nature		Time		Activity		Relational		
	Items	Proportion	Items	Proportion	Items	Proportion	Items	Proportion	Items	Proportion	
Economics and Business	Viet.	1-16	.200	7-22	.400	13-28	.300	4-19	.242	10-25	.342
	Amer.		.357		.878		.378		.276		.327
	Viet.	1-31	.317	7-37	.258	13-43	.267	4-34	.208	10-40	.325
	Amer.		.490		.847		.337		.429		.194
	Viet.	16-31	.383	22-37	.275	28-43	.408	19-34	.708	25-40	.388
	Amer.		.337		.776		.439		.306		.255
Personal and Social	Viet.	6-21	.392	12-27	.525	3-18	.467	9-24	.367	15-30	.250
	Amer.		.429		.510		.796		.449		.439
	Viet.	6-36	.383	12-42	.250	3-33	.300	9-39	.300	15-45	.242
	Amer.		.337		.388		.612		.214		.459
	Viet.	21-36	.325	27-42	.250	18-33	.367	24-39	.342	30-45	.150
	Amer.		.429		.612		.684		.296		.388
Community and Government	Viet.	11-26	.467	2-17	.108	8-23	.500	14-29	.333	5-20	.400
	Amer.		.571		.408		.541		.255		.704
	Viet.	11-41	.342	2-32	.358	8-38	.433	14-44	.125	5-35	.342
	Amer.		.469		.480		.357		.571		.643
	Viet.	26-41	.317	17-32	.308	23-38	.500	29-44	.333	20-35	.425
	Amer.		.429		.531		.418		.306		.520

Vietnamese: Mean proportion = .337, Range = .108 to .708  
 American: Mean proportion = .467, Range = .194 to .878

### Equivalence of Alternative Separation

Ideally, one alternative of an item in this inventory is conceptually separated from each of the other alternatives by the same subjective "distance." A quick inspection of the items will show that this ideal is not always reached. The lack of ideal separation has no immediate bearing on the empirical results obtained as long as some separation between alternatives is discernible by subjects (there exists some preference), and the relative amount of separation for each item is the same for both language versions. The extent to which this latter requirement is met is related to validity of the instrument as a whole. If it can be shown that alternative separation is essentially identical in both language versions, then the results showing differences between the cultures are not simply a reflection of different relationships with the items of the two versions of the T/C.

In order to obtain an estimate regarding the extent to which the "distance" between alternatives is constant across languages, four bilingual judges<sup>7</sup> were asked to directly estimate the internal "distance" between alternatives in the following manner: for each item (for each language separately) the judges were asked to choose the alternative response they would prefer if they were in the population being studied (American and Vietnamese peasant). That alternative was assigned the number 1, and each of the other two alternatives was to be assigned a number from 2 to 9 reflecting the subjective distance between that alternative and the one assigned 1. This method yielded directly observable judgments of 2 of the 3 possible distances for each item for each judge; thus, 2/3 of the possible information was available from each judge. However, because of the different roles assumed by the judges and the natural overlap in the system, these 4 sets of "2/3's" overlap to the extent that only 6 percent of the total possible

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<sup>7</sup>Two Americans who read and speak Vietnamese and two Vietnamese fluent in English were asked to judge the items for both language versions of Form I of the T/C in order to estimate several variables. Each judge was given all of the tasks (the one cited here and the three bearing on effectiveness of translation--see the next section) to be completed in his spare time at whatever speed he could manage. The tasks were, however, to be done in a specified sequence. All of the judges completed the tasks in about a week's time (10-12 hours actual working time).

data was lost. (In order to obtain direct observations of the additional 1/3 of the distances the task would have to have been tripled.)

This kind of judgment, especially with a small number of subjects, is not reliable enough to draw statistical conclusions. However, some trends can be noted. The correspondence of the distances across languages is good (after the elimination of a small number of items based on only one response, the correlation between the English and Vietnamese versions is .66, .36, and .55 for the AB, AC and BC alternative distances respectively). In only 4 of the items was there any indication that broad differences may exist on one of the distances compared across languages and 2 of those differences were based on only one judge's response.

Another question that arises in dealing with distances between alternatives is: Do any items exist where one distance, compared to the others, is disproportionately small? This is of concern since alternatives which are very close together would be difficult to choose between and hence, responses would be unreliable. An inspection of the data suggests that only three items (23, 28, and 32) of Form I contain alternatives which may be "too close" together.

#### Effectiveness of Translation

In attempting to translate test items generated from one culture and language into another, we are confronted with problems of equivalence. The most obvious difficulty is the transfer of purely linguistic content from one language vocabulary and syntax to another. Several other problems have come to light during this research.

a. Connotative drift. The problem of translating American concepts into Vietnamese without circumlocutions that sound unnatural to Vietnamese peasants leads to an additional problem. In working back and forth between English and Vietnamese in search of acceptable translations that are conceptually equivalent and at the same time understandable and "natural" to Vietnamese peasants, it is difficult to keep the meaning of items from drifting away

from the constructs defined by values and content areas which serve as the logical base for the study. The extent to which this connotative drift may have occurred should be checked.

b. Differences in level of technical development of culture. The higher American level of technology often means that different situations need to be assumed and terms appropriate to them must be used to translate items from English to Vietnamese. The extent to which this change in the context may interfere with other variables in an item should be evaluated.

c. Differences in areas of human concerns. Some issues of concern and interest to Americans may be of little interest to Vietnamese and vice versa. An item which is not relevant to the culture would not be expected to provide as reliable a response as one which is relevant.

A full-scale attack on these problems of item translation would require a study of very substantial scope. However, much can be learned from a limited effort designed to search for the general parameters of nonequivalency, to define and describe them, and to point out their implications for problems of cross-cultural translation.

#### Item Equivalence in Concept and Language

In order to obtain judgments on the adequacy of translation which were as independent as possible from the value study setting, the 45 items of both language versions of Form I were broken up so that each item stem was combined with each of the alternative answers to make three separate items. The English and Vietnamese version of each of these subitems were paired (thus making 135 pairs of statements) and presented to the bilingual judges in random order. The judges were asked to rate each pair on the adequacy of linguistic equivalence--do they, both conceptually and grammatically, say essentially the same thing in both languages? The rating scale was descriptive, with units of "unacceptable" through "poor," "fair," "adequate" to "excellent." Where a judge indicated that the linguistic equivalence was less than "adequate" he was asked to specify how it was inadequate and/or what the proper translation would be in his opinion.

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The results of this task suggest that, in general, the translations from Vietnamese to English are adequate. More than one-half of the items presented (75 out of 135) were rated adequate translations with no specific comments made regarding possible improvements.

Of the items in which translation weaknesses were noted, the majority of the problems were either known and unavoidable (e. g., change in setting for the item) or of a minor nature (e. g., the addition of a qualifying phrase in one language which was not in the other). A change of setting was required in nine of the translation items, representing three items. Two of these are Economics and Business items, and the other item (Personal and Social) deals with occupational role; this business oriented setting is the one where the most obvious technical differences between the two cultures are apparent.

Seventeen of the translation items were rated adequate except for the addition, usually in the English sentence, of some qualifying phrase which was not in the other language version. In most cases, the effect of the increased level of detail was only for clarification, with no basic change in meaning. For example, in Form I, item 23, the Vietnamese item reads "government supported educational institutions..." while the English stem reads "government supported educational institutions, such as state colleges...". Most of the items so changed have the qualifying phrase added in the English version; one (item 8) has the added phrase in the Vietnamese version.

Most of the remaining items were rated fair or barely adequate on the basis of general dissatisfaction with the translation structure, or emphasis implicit in certain words. But there is no consensus among the judges about what the translation should be.

Seven (of the 135) items were rated fair or poor translations and translations errors appeared to be serious. There was consensus among the judges that the error had occurred and consensus concerning what the proper translation should be. In two cases the error involved an item stem, the other cases involved

different item alternatives. The errors involve conceptual changes which should be noted in evaluating the cross-cultural analysis for the particular items involved. The errors, and the revisions suggested by the judges, are presented in Table 5.

It is apparent that the translation of items from one language to the other is one of the crucial problems in cross-cultural research. Even with the precaution of independent back-translation (which was used in this study), errors can and do occur. Part of the difficulty in this case may be a result of translating the items in the stem-alternative format; this format is difficult to structure in any language, and the grammatical or logical structure which will produce sensible alternatives in one language may not be as straight-forward in another syntax. In general, however, we conclude that the translation was adequate.

#### Importance of Issues to Both Populations

Evidence has been found that some items which are of relevance to the way of life of American populations do not appear to be matters of concern to the Vietnamese and vice versa. In order to obtain an estimate of the degree of relevance of the items of the two versions of T/C Form I to their respective cultures, the bilingual judges were asked to rate each item (for each language separately) on the extent to which it actually reflects an issue which matters, which is of concern, to American populations and to Vietnamese populations.

The items were rated on a scale from never relevant to always relevant, according to the following guidelines.

Never--The situation and/or behavior pattern is simply not a part of the cultural life, is never thought about, and would seem strange.

Not usually--The situation and/or behavior pattern could occur in the culture, but is rare. Respondent may have some knowledge or idea about what is appropriate, but has probably not directly experienced it.

Occasionally--Respondent has probably encountered the situation/behavior pattern, and has formed some consistent response. However, it is not a part of his daily life and does not influence general behavior.

Table 5

Item	Present English Version	Corrected English Version (trans. from Vietnamese)
2a	"A person's importance and position in the community <u>de- pends on the family he was born into.</u> "	"A person's ... the community <u>depends on fate and luck.</u> "
9	" <u>A person who has special abilities</u> should..."	" <u>A person who knows how to use his abilities</u> should..."
17c	"The main reason that people give money or goods to a poor person is because they feel <u>proud to be able to give to others.</u> "	"The main ... is because they feel <u>proud of having a lot of money.</u> "
20c	"In general one should vote for the <u>candidate whose thinking is most like one's own.</u> "	"In general... for the <u>candidate who has the greatest abilities.</u> "
22b	"Whether or not a person can find a job depends mainly on his <u>getting along with the right people.</u> "	"Whether or ... mainly on his <u>getting along with his sur- roundings</u> [environment, circumstances]."
26	" <u>Communities need to find ways to help people settle disputes and arguments be- cause...</u> "	" <u>Local disputes usually occur because...</u> "
37a	"People usually work together for mutual profit because it is easier for several people <u>to bear the burden of bad luck.</u> "	"People... for several people <u>to share the good and bad luck.</u> "

Usually--Situation/behavior pattern is a common element in daily life; it is encountered so frequently that response is material, spontaneous, "true."

Always--Situation/behavior pattern is highly influential in all aspects of respondent's life. The idea expressed affects not only directly-related acts, but much of total behavior.

In general, the responses indicate that most of the items are occasionally encountered--often enough to provide a consistent value position. The items were somewhat more relevant to the Americans than to the Vietnamese. (More items were rated "not usually" relevant for the Vietnamese; more items were rated "usually" relevant for the Americans. This difference is significant [ $p < .01$ ] by a chi-square test.) Thus, in spite of precautions, according to the four judges, American ethnocentricity is operating.

The subject matter of the items considered lacking in relevance was different for the Vietnamese and English versions. It was generally<sup>8</sup> agreed that the following issues (as represented by single items) are not particularly relevant to the Vietnamese peasant culture:

- changing social manners
- the practice of virtue
- voting choices
- government supported educational institutions
- women working
- joining clubs
- how private companies should be run
- the goals of private welfare organizations.

On the other hand, Americans were judged not to be particularly interested in:

- policies dealing with strangers
- policies in dealing with salesmen
- representation for selling land
- best source of friends
- how private companies should be run.

Some of these are apparently just not known in the culture (e. g., joining clubs in Vietnamese peasant culture) or are not within the realm of action of the people

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<sup>8</sup>The average rating for these items was "not usually" or "never."

in general, whereas others seem to be things which are known but which are so well known that the alternatives do not raise realistic questions.

A number of items were rated higher by the Vietnamese judges than by the American judges and vice versa. Some of these discrepancies indicate a little more about the possible differences between the cultures. In judging the English version, the Vietnamese judges rated the following issues to be more relevant to the American culture than the American judges rated them:

- what should be taught in government supported educational institutions
- women working
- the best forms of punishment.

The source of a person's importance in the community was judged, by the Vietnamese, to be less relevant to the Americans than the Americans judged them.

In the Vietnamese version, the Americans judged the following issues to be more important to the Vietnamese than the Vietnamese thought them:

- best source of decisions designed to influence the community
- what to do with leftover money
- why people work together for mutual profit.

The Americans judged other items as less relevant than the Vietnamese: the kinds of change that hurt society and the proper business practices of merchants.

While hard conclusions from this sort of data are not justifiable, the results do give a certain face validity to those items which are relevant. Most of the items do ask questions meaningful to both cultures; the judgment of items as less than relevant appears, on the surface at least, to be based in most cases on the setting of the item rather than the underlying value concept.

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